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JOHN DRINKWATER

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A
COMPENDIOUS VIEW
OF
UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE YEAR 1753 TO THE TREATY OF AMIENS IN 1802.

WITH NOTES,
TO VERIFY OR ELUCIDATE THE PASSAGES TO WHICH THEY REFER.

BY
CHARLES MAYO, L.L.B.
RECTOR OF BECHING STOKE AND HUISH, IN THE COUNTY OF WILTS.

*Hoc illud est præcipuè in cognitione Rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te Exempli
Documenta in illustri posita Monumento intueri: inde tibi tuæque Reipublicæ quod
imitere, capias: inde sædum Inceptu, sædum Exitu, quod vitæ.*

T. Livii Prefatio.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.—VOL. IV.

B A T H:
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GREAT

GREAT BRITAIN.

1797.

WHILST our fleets were adding continually to the national renown by their achievements, the aspect of public affairs afforded nothing to cheer the minds of the people. On the contrary, the ill success of our negotiations seemed to preclude a hope of terminating the present most destructive and expensive war with honour and advantage.—The parliamentary proceedings of the late year were closed with a message from his majesty, informing the two houses of the abrupt termination of lord Malmsbury's negotiations at Paris; imputing it to the French government's obstinate adherence to a claim which never could be admitted; and declaring "that, whenever his enemies should be disposed to enter on the work of general pacification, nothing should be wanting on his part to contribute to the accomplishment of that great object which was retarded by their exorbitant pretensions only."

Conformably with this declaration, at the same time that the British government continued to stimulate its remaining allies to a vigorous co-operation with it in promoting their common interests and that of all Europe, by a firm resistance to a power which threatened destruction to their independency, it neglected no opportunity to bring about a peace,

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or,

1797 or, at least, to deprive our enemies of the advantage which they would derive from our apparent disinclination to pacific councils. The success of France, and the principles on which the members of the confederacy had been seen to act, rendered this line of conduct daily more necessary.

The British cabinet being impressed with this persuasion, lord Grenville, within six months after the negotiation at Paris had been broken off,† made overtures for a renewal of them by a note to monsieur de la Croix, the French minister for foreign affairs.* The assent given to this overture was accompanied with a proposition to treat definitively with Great Britain, without adverting to the general interests of Europe.—This had been the policy by which France had succeeded in drawing the members of the coalition off from the common cause in which they were embarked. It was contrary to the principles on which Great Britain had hitherto acted. But, that no obstruction might arise hence, no refusal was given to the requisition; but the eventual compliance with it was to depend on the progress and turn of the negotiations.‡

The way being thus smoothed, lord Malmsbury met the French ministers, le Tournear, Maret, and Pleville, at Lisle, in the month of July.† Before these ministers would enter upon the main business of the congress, they brought forward certain insulated points, as they were denominated, as preliminaries to a treaty. The first of these was, that the king of Great Britain should, in order to a full recognition of the French republic, henceforward desist from assuming the title of king of France.—Another was the restitution of the ships taken by the English at Toulon, or an equivalent for them and those which had been destroyed.—A third was a renunciation, on the part of Great Britain, of all the mortgages which it had upon the Netherlands in consequence of money lent to the emperor.—The difficulties arising from these requisitions being in some measure removed by the French ministers, the conferences were opened. But it was clearly evinced, by a requisition made in the progress of them, that the French government was determined not to conclude the treaty, unless it could, as in other instances, imperiously prescribe the terms—that was, “that Great Britain should restore, to the French republic and its allies, “ all

† June 1.

‡ July 6.

* Ann. Regist. 181. and 1798. p. 5.

† Idem. 5.

‡ St. Papers ap. Ann. Reg. 1797.

"all the possessions which have passed into the hands of the English since the beginning of the war." It appearing from lord Malmsbury's answer, that he was authorized to treat on no other principle than that of reciprocal compensation, he was required to depart in twenty-four hours. 1797

Some circumstances, relative to our internal affairs, contributed to the depression which the nation was seen to suffer from the disappointment of the faint hopes of peace which these repeated negotiations had afforded them.

Ireland had, as we have seen, been saved from an invasion by the disasters which had befallen the enemy's fleet. But this was only a negative good to balance many positive evils.—Great Britain had borne the most tremendous storms of foreign war: it had combated all the misfortunes attending the revolt of her colonies and the final loss of them. But never had the British kingdoms been enveloped with such dark clouds of adversity as at the present crisis. Ireland was in a state bordering on rebellion. And, at the same time, to the other calamities adherent on war, to the danger which threatened us from an inveterate foe, breathing the most rancorous malice, and increasing continually in strength from the desertion of our weak or perfidious allies, was now added the embarrassment arising from an extreme want of specie, occasioned chiefly by the large remittances to our allies. The alarm excited by the threatened invasion increasing the evil, a violent run was first made on the country banks. The effects of this soon extended to the metropolis: and very serious apprehensions began to be entertained for the bank of England, which had distressed itself by its advances of specie to the state.—To avert its impending fate, which must have been attended with the most disastrous consequences, an order was issued by the privy council,† prohibiting the directors of the bank from issuing any cash in payment "till the sense of parliament should be taken on that subject, and proper measures taken thereupon for maintaining the means of circulation and supporting the public commercial credit of the kingdom at this important conjuncture."*—For the purpose of the desired investigations,

|| September 16.

† February 26.

* Annual Register, 1800.

1797

tions, to assist the legislature in its deliberations respecting the proper measures to be adopted for remedying the national inconveniences, and to afford due satisfaction to the public on this important subject, a motion was made by lord Grenville in the house of peers and by the chancellor of the exchequer in the lower house, for the appointment of a secret committee, to examine into the state of the bank, and the causes which rendered the order of the council necessary.^f—The motions being agreed to, and the investigations having been made by each committee, similar reports were made from them to their respective houses.—That from the committee of peers † stated, that on “ the twenty-fifth of February last there was a “ surplus of effects belonging to the bank beyond the total of their debts, “ amounting to the sum of £3,826,890, exclusive of a permanent debt of “ £11,666,800 due from the government: that the bank of England had “ lately experienced an universal drain of cash: that this drain was owing “ to demands for cash from the country, arising from local alarms of “ invasion: demands had been of late progressively increasing, but particularly in the last week; and that there was every reason to apprehend “ that these demands, and the consequent progressive reduction of cash, “ would continue and even increase; insomuch that there was reason to “ apprehend that if it were to continue in the same proportion, the bank “ of England would be deprived of the means of supplying the cash which “ might be necessary for pressing exigencies of public service. On these “ grounds the committee stated it as their opinion, that it was necessary “ to continue and confirm the measures already taken, for such time and “ under such limitations as to the wisdom of parliament might seem “ expedient.”^g

Warm debates ensued on this report, in which the duke of Bedford bore a distinguished part. After descanting in the severest terms on the pernicious effects of the councils of the present administration, he moved successively twenty resolutions, all tending to a censure on the minister's conduct, in not attending to the salutary admonitions of the bank directors respecting the consequences to be apprehended from the large advances of money to government, and ascribing the necessity of the order of council to the enormous

† March 6.

^f Annual Register, 180. 187.^g Idem, 193.

notes amount of his remittances to foreign princes in loans and subsidies. 1797
 These resolutions, being separately brought forward, were successively rejected.^a—Mr. Pitt's bill for continuing the restriction on the bank was then brought in and passed,† with its various clauses, intended to relieve the bank, and yet to afford the public every accommodation that was compatible with the existing state of things. Among these “ was that which allowed “ the bank to repay, at different periods, in cash, those who may at their “ discretion hereafter deposit money with the directors, so that no more “ than three fourths of such sums should be repaid by the bank in cash during the continuance of the present bill. Another clause enabled the “ bank, notwithstanding the present restriction, to issue, for the accommodation of private bankers and traders in the metropolis, a sum in cash, “ not exceeding £.100,000.” Another expedient, which has been attended with much inconvenience, was “ to enable the bank to issue notes below “ the value of £.5.”^b—By these expedients was the kingdom rescued from the disasters which must otherwise have ensued to the state and nation; public credit soon revived; and that principle, which was justly said, by a noble senator, “ to be to the people of Great Britain, what the soul of “ man is to the body,”^c was immediately seen to resume its functions, and reanimate the system which it had before pervaded.

This, however, was not the only cause of that gloom which overspread the kingdom at this time. Distressing as were the evils which must ever arise to a commercial nation from a shock given to public credit and the want of a proper circulating medium, a still greater calamity now threatened us. In the midst of our pecuniary embarrassments the government was alarmed by a mutinous disposition which made its appearance in the navy. Nothing could have been so awful as the feeling which this event excited at an instant when we were struggling with all the difficulties and dangers of foreign war. Had this bulwark been destroyed, our fortress would have been at once dismantled, and we should have been at the mercy of an enemy who considered his own safety as involved in the subversion of the British government.

This spirit first discovered itself in the fleet lying at Portsmouth, by
 anonymous

† April 7.

^a Ann. Regist. 198.

^b Idem. 202. 2.

^c Lord Lansdowne's Speech. Ann. Regist. 182.

1797 anonymous letters addressed to lord Howe, first lord of the admiralty.†

When the great body of the people, or a large class of men, are to be made the instruments of the indirect designs of disaffected persons against the state, some real or plausible cause must be sought for on which to ground their machinations.—The smallness of the pay was that which was first resorted to on this occasion; and the justness of it could not, indeed, be denied by any one who compared the price of all the necessaries of life with that which they bore in the reign of Charles the Second, when the wages of seamen were last settled.¹

Little regard being paid to these letters, an unanimous agreement was entered into by the seamen of that division, “that no ship should lift an anchor till a redress of grievances should be obtained.” In pursuance of this they refused to obey the signal given by lord Bridport, commander of the channel fleet. Delegates were then appointed by each ship’s crew, who held their conferences in lord Howe’s cabin, where more solemn engagements were made to support the common cause.† Their complaints were represented in loyal and respectful terms, in two petitions, to the admiralty board and the house of commons. Some obstructions occurred in the consequent measures of government, arising from the mistrust conceived by the seamen. But these were easily removed by the interposition of lord Howe, whose services and high character as a naval officer had given him their esteem. And subordination was restored by an act of parliament for an augmentation of the seamen’s pay and allowance.‡

This had scarcely received the legislative sanction when a similar affair took place at the Nore,‡ which was of greater importance, because the complaints of the seamen were of such a nature as indicated a democratic spirit; a resolution either to come to a rupture with the government, or to force it to submit to such regulations as they should think proper to prescribe for the future discipline of the navy.—This temper was further manifested in the audacious demeanour of Richard Parker, who acted as chief of the delegates chosen to state their demands and conduct their affairs. When admiral Buckner, who commanded at the Nore, told the mutineers that their demands were inconsistent with good order, offering them

|| In February. † April 17. ‡ May 15. + May 22.

¹ State Papers. ap. Annual Register. 1799.

= Annual Register. 1793.

them, at the same time the royal pardon, he replied by declaring that they were unanimously resolved to keep possession of the fleet till the lords of the admiralty had repaired to the Nore and redressed the grievances which had been laid before them. 1797

A more distressful dilemma can scarcely be imagined than that to which the government was now reduced. By compliance it would give up all subordination, and encourage that democratic spirit which it was one of the chief objects of the war to repress; by resistance it would expose itself to all the evils which might be apprehended from a mutiny in one of the grand divisions of the fleet; at a crisis when our enemy was expected daily to attempt a descent on our coasts.—A deputation from the lords of the admiralty repaired to the Nore, and heard the complaints of the mutineers; but no advances were made towards an accommodation.—Precautions were then used by government for preventing the fleet from putting to sea. And the mutineers, on the other hand, when they found that their requisitions were not complied with, persevered resolutely in the execution of their designs. Having been joined by four ships from admiral Duncan's fleet, they proceeded, in the confidence of their strength, to the most desperate measures. They provided themselves with necessaries by seizing two store-ships: they cut off all communication between London and the sea; by mooring four vessels across the mouth of the river.

In the midst of the gloomy apprehensions with which the minds of men were filled, especially in the capital, some propitious circumstances happily occurred; which soon led to the total failure of this tremendous project.—The first of these was the pointed disapprobation of the conduct of these mutineers by the seamen on board the ships lying at Portsmouth and Plymouth.—They, however, still persisted in their mutiny.—At length, lord Northesk, whom they had imprisoned on board his own ship; was sent with a commission to his majesty to represent their grievances.

It may generally be observed to be easier to raise a revolt than to preserve an union of councils among the revolters: this was, fortunately, the case in the present instance. When the mutineers were informed that their conduct was reprobated by the whole nation, as well as their fellow-seamen, divisions began to prevail among them. Several ships abandoned the league: and the mutiny was soon ended by their striking the red flag, which

GREAT BRITAIN.

1797

which was the signal of revolt, and restoring a free passage to the trade of the metropolis.—It was thought necessary for the national safety to inflict a severe punishment on the most criminal, as examples to deter others from such mutinous practices. Parker and some other ringleaders, therefore, were tried by a court martial, and were sentenced to death and executed; others were more slightly punished; and the remainder received the royal pardon.*—That they merited this act of clemency, that even the offenders at the Nore were not actuated by any fixed principles of disaffection to the state, but had been wrought on by the counsels of a few persons employed to propagate discontent and democratic principles among them, may be presumed from their subsequent good behaviour in returning cheerfully to their obedience and their duty. Of this they gave the most convincing and satisfactory testimonies in the course of the present campaign.—His majesty's pacific overtures having proved fruitless, he had prosecuted the war with a vigour which, if it did not answer the end originally proposed by the coalition, of maintaining the independency of Europe, at least saved the British crown from that disgrace which other members of that confederacy had brought on themselves.

The fleet sent, under admiral Jarvis, to watch the movements of the Spaniards, and prevent their junction with the Brest fleet, had signalized itself by a victory over a far superior force,† which entirely frustrated the enemy's purpose, as may be seen in the history of France. And, before the close of the year,‡ the crews under admiral Duncan had an opportunity, which they readily embraced, of retrieving their honour by a memorable victory over the Dutch fleet destined to co-operate with that of France in a descent on the British or Irish coasts; thus meriting the heartfelt thanks of their countrymen, whom they had before filled with terror by their revolt.

There are few instances upon record of so remarkable a change of circumstances as was exhibited by Great Britain at this crisis. When our enemies were rejoicing at our complicated distresses, and expected every moment that the vessel of state would have gone to the bottom, and their ardent wishes would have been accomplished, she was again beheld proudly
rising

† February 14.

‡ October 11.

* Annual Register. 207. 17.

rising above the waves which had threatened to overwhelm her, and, instead of her expected ruin, affording them further conviction that every effort for the attainment of their ends would be frustrated, as long as our liberties and the security of our persons and property are ensured by a firm adherence to the principles of our happy constitution. 1797

When we reflect on these achievements, and compare them with our enemy's menaces, we cannot but feel the liveliest sense of gratitude to Providence, which has implanted in the breasts of the British nation that elevated spirit, that honest pride, which has served them as a safeguard against the attacks of their most formidable enemies. And a reflection on these events may teach us, not from a false idea of security to neglect the proper means of defence, but to prepare for it with a just confidence that, under the same protection, our exertions will be crowned with the same success.

Whilst we are celebrating the praises of the English constitution, it may not be thought improper, if we digress from the narrative of historical occurrences, to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of Edmund Burke,* who had ever been its firm, uniform, and zealous supporter.—Few characters have exhibited such an assemblage of virtues, talents, and accomplishments as his. The man of genius was united in him with the man of worth. His bright, luxuriant imagination is observable in every part of his works; and, displaying itself in his orations, rendered them more fascinating and attractive: and his refined taste in whatever relates to the belles lettres, and the amiable graces of his domestic and social character, gave a milder lustre to his virtues and high endowments as a senator, a statesman, and a patriot.

FRANCE,

* “ Edmund Burke, son of an attorney at Dublin, was born in the year 1730.—The incidents of his life are unimportant till the year 1765; when, on the appointment of the marquis of Rockingham to the office of first lord of the treasury, he was made his private secretary and was afterwards chosen representative for the borough of Wendover.—His principles are well known, and his actions are interwoven in the history of his country.—He died July 8, 1797, leaving no heir. He married a daughter of Dr. Nugent, a physician of repute, but his only son by her died two years before him.”—*Bisset's Life of Burke.*

FRANCE, HOLLAND, SPAIN, ITALY, AND GERMANY.

1797

We have seen the most vigorous efforts made in the late campaign to bring the trial of strength and resources between the belligerent powers to an issue proving ineffectual.—Fresh incense had been offered to the pride of France by the prudent, but pusillanimous, conduct of the king of Spain and other powers, which, after confederating to prevent the French republic from tyrannizing over Europe, had, like the Dutch states, tamely submitted to become subservient to its ambitious views. But this state had still a confederacy to contend with, whose positive strength was still great, and the diminution of which was balanced by a correspondent wasting of its rival's.—The Austrians had yielded to the enthusiastic ardour with which Buonaparte and his subaltern generals had inspired their troops in Italy; but they had repulsed the armies of Jourdan and Moreau in Germany, and had foiled these generals in their grand design of prescribing terms of peace to the emperor at the gates of Vienna. And the French government still found in Great Britain a foe who was determined to maintain the independency of Europe, and to assert her own pre-eminence on the seas, or perish in the attempt. A negotiation with that crown, in the late autumn, had failed of success, as well from the want of a cordial disposition to peace, as from the wide difference of sentiment respecting the terms upon which it was to be concluded. It was evident from the manner in which it had terminated, as given in the English history of the late year, that, before France could accomplish its purpose of making the Rhine its boundary, Austria must experience further humiliation; that, before Great Britain could be brought to follow the example of other confederates in crouching under the arm of France, her naval force must be overpowered, and her government must be distressed by an invasion of her dominions.—These were the objects of the present campaign; in the attainment of which the directory, whilst it was favoured by the perilous situation of their adversaries, had new difficulties to encounter on their own part. To the extreme embarrassment of their financial system, to the molestation

molestation which they continually dreaded from the jacobins on the one hand and the royalists on the other, to the discontent which was seen to pervade the whole body of the people when they were disappointed of the advantages which they had promised themselves under a republican government, was now added the alarm excited by intelligence of a formidable revolt of the negroes in St. Domingo, a further account of which will be given in the history of the ensuing year.

1797

These circumstances presented difficulties to the French directory of the most tremendous nature; but they knew that the preservation of their own power depended on their surmounting them: and their past success, and the strong reinforcements which Spain and the Dutch states had engaged to make to their naval force, inspired them with sanguine hopes.—Moreover, these were heightened by an event which was expected to have a material influence on the affairs of Europe—that was the death of the empress Catharine. That politic princess, though hostile to the French republic from political principles and rivalry in power, had availed herself of the remoteness of her dominions from the seat of war and the ardour with which the southern potentates had confederated against France, and had suffered and encouraged them to exhaust their strength in the contest, whilst she was recruiting her own. But when she was informed of the triumphs of the French army in Italy, and saw that every campaign made some accession of territory to the republic, she began to be apprehensive lest the balance of power should be entirely destroyed, and the foundations of her own empire should be shaken by these political convulsions: her people, she feared, might be roused from their lethargy by the successes of these republicans, and, with the assistance of a powerful state, which had proffered its services to all who were disposed to claim their freedom, might make a vigorous effort to throw off the yoke of absolute power.—To guard against these evils, she had prepared an army of 150,000 men, to co-operate with the German emperor, when death put a period to her enterprises, towards the close of the late year, and she was succeeded on the throne by her son, the emperor Paul, who was led, either by policy or by a determined opposition to the councils of his mother, to adopt a line of conduct more favourable to the French interests.*

Under

* Annual Register. p. 3.

1797

Under these circumstances of the European powers the campaign was opened in Italy.—Sensible that he should be constrained to yield to the demands of France respecting the Netherlands unless such a turn could be given to the war as might restore his affairs in this country, the emperor was indefatigable in his exertions for that purpose. And such was the success of them, such the spirit displayed by his subjects at this important crisis, that, within a few weeks after the battle of Arcola, Alvinzi was again seen at the head of an army with which he dared to confront his enemy; amounting to near 50,000 men, among whom were a great number of young men of fortune, who repaired as volunteers to the imperial standard.

Buonaparte, perceiving that his enemy's design was to force his posts on the Adige, and, advancing to the walls of Mantua, to oblige him to raise the siege by a co-operation with the brave garrison under Wurmser, was constrained once more to interrupt his operations before that fortress, and march to the support of Massena and Joubert, who were already engaged with the Austrians.—On intelligence that Joubert had been forced to retire before a superior army to Rivoli, after strengthening Augereau's detachment on the Adige, he hastened with a strong reinforcement to Joubert's support, and took the command of that division in person.†—A battle ensued, which was fought with exemplary firmness and alternate success. When it had continued above three hours, fortune evidently inclined to the Austrians, and the main body of the French was in danger of being surrounded. But they were saved from this dishonour by their own intrepidity and their general's address. The Austrians had been three times repulsed in their vigorous assaults on the intrenchments before Rivoli, when Buonaparte ordered a battery of only four field pieces to cannonade the right of the Austrian line, while a strong body of troops was dispatched to make an attack on it. This bold movement was executed with great promptitude and success. The Austrians, overpowered by their furious and unexpected onset, were driven from the height which they had occupied; and one brigade was so completely surrounded, that, except a few brave men who succeeded in cutting their way through the enemy, the whole were either killed or made prisoners of war.^b

This

† January 14.

^b Campaign of Buonaparte, 224. and Campaign of 1796, 328.

This fortunate stroke renewed the career of Buonaparte's successes.—A large body of Austrians was attacked by Joubert at the strong post of Corona, near Rivoli, the ensuing day; and, after a severe conflict, was defeated, and great part of them were taken prisoners.—On the same day, Provera, a general of distinguished merit, was attacked by Augereau on his route towards Mantua, and defeated with the loss of 2000 men.†—Reaching the French lines of circumvallation with the remainder of his army, amounting only to 7000 men, he made a bold but unsuccessful attempt to force his way into the city.—Reduced to despair by this repulse, Provera then, as his last mean to extricate himself from surrounding danger, attacked the strong post of la Favourite, which guarded the fortress.‡ But, notwithstanding Wurmser co-operated with him by a sally of the garrison, he was so furiously assailed by the different divisions of the French forces that all his efforts to effect his purpose and save the honour of the Austrian arms were unavailing. Surrounded by the enemy on all sides, this meritorious general at last suffered the mortification of surrendering himself and his troops prisoners of war; a disaster which was embittered to the emperor by the loss of the corps of volunteer gentlemen, who so gallantly offered him their services.

During these actions before Mantua, Joubert and Massena were deriving every possible benefit from the victories at Rivoli by pressing upon their vanquished enemy, who had retired for refuge again across the Brenta. After several encounters with the Austrian detachments, in which the French were invariably successful, they regained possession of Trent, the chief magazine of the imperialists.

These disasters proved decisive of the fate of Mantua. Deprived of all hope of relief, Wurmser, who had maintained the defence with such signal constancy, at length submitted to a capitulation, and received the most distinguished testimony of his merit in the honour which his rival did him, by granting him an escort of 200 horse and 500 foot, with six pieces of artillery.†⁴

By the fall of this fortress the Austrian power was in effect annihilated in Italy; that of the duke of Tuscany, under the ascendancy of France, being scarcely

† January 15.

‡ January 16.

+ February 2.

⁴ Campaign of 1796. 336.⁴ Idem. 346.

1797 scarcely a shadow of its former grandeur.—New states were now seen to rise on its ruins: and it will remain with posterity to judge of the relative merit of their forms of government; to determine on the sincerity of the French general, when he held out the lure of freedom to secure the inhabitants of the Italian states in his interests; whether the people themselves are reclaimable from the habits of depravity and indolence into which despotism and superstition have depressed them; and whether those sentiments of virtue and integrity can be revived among them which are essential to the enjoyment of liberty.

We must now turn our attention to the councils and conduct of the court of Rome.—When the French armies were making a rapid progress through Lombardy, and the papal states in that part of Italy had already fallen into the hands of the French general, Pius employed the chevalier Azara, the Spanish ambassador, as we have seen, to avert the vengeance of France by negotiating an armistice; and Buonaparte, that he might diminish the number of his enemies and conciliate the favour of other Roman catholic powers, and provide himself with resources for carrying on the war, readily consented to it.—After his holiness had condescended to make this sacrifice to safety, good policy as well as honour required that he should adhere to his engagements. But Pius, with that indecision in himself which generally proves fatal to statesmen in such tempestuous seasons, was, like the unfortunate Lewis the Sixteenth, cursed with counsellors who would rather sacrifice the public welfare, and risk the entire ruin of the state, than endanger that corrupt system of which they themselves make a part.—On the first transient gleam of prosperous fortune on the part of the Austrians, a change of councils immediately took place: the chevalier Azara was vilified as a heretic and enemy of the church of Rome for his wise and honest counsels; and, by advice of the ministers to whom the affrighted pontiff had committed the reins of government, a body of troops was sent to retake Ferrara.*

This

* At this perilous crisis we find the chevalier Azara persevering in his wise counsels with the earnestness and freedom of a sincere friend. "It does not become me to obtrude my advice," says he in a letter to cardinal Busca, "while you have so many other advisers: yet, as a last token of my friendship, I must inform you that a moment may save you at the expence of some sacrifices; but, that moment once elapsed, your ruin will be complete. . . . If a reliance on your own strength, if your armaments, inspire you with confidence, *consummatum est*.—Assure the pope," said he in conclusion, "that I am his friend, not his flatterer."—*Life of Pius the Sixth.* 2. 294.

* *Life of Pius the Sixth.* 2. 267. 77.

This was followed by a series of ill-judged measures, all tending to increase the Pope's embarrassment. Encouraged by the protection which he hoped to derive from the house of Austria, and possessed with a presumptuous persuasion that he was under the peculiar guardianship of heaven,^f he persisted in his warlike preparations even after the French arms were again become victorious. And, whilst he thus exposed himself to the resentment of the conqueror, he adopted such expedients for raising supplies as rendered his government more unpopular: he depreciated the coin; he called on the ecclesiastics and private persons to bring their plate to the mint; he made a new emission of *cedole*, or paper currency; and obliged all venders of provisions, at the close of each week, to carry to the bank *dello spirito santo* a part of the specie which they had taken, and accept *cedole* in exchange for it, and the farmers to sell their corn at a low price to the department of the *annona*, and, in payment, to receive *cedole* at par, which were then at fifty per cent discount.^g

1797

Incensed at a demand by the French directory that, as a preliminary to a definitive treaty, he should annul certain briefs which they asserted to be contrary to the rights of nations, and influenced by those counsellors who were his evil genii, he suspended the execution of the armistice, and dispatched a manifesto to the catholic courts, wherein, after explaining the state of the negotiation with France, he called on them to unite in defence of religion.^h—Unfortunately for the sovereign pontiff, his admonitions came at a time when policy rendered the catholic powers deaf to them. The kings of Sardinia, Spain, and Naples had been forced to accede to the terms of peace which were dictated to them by the proud conqueror. The Spanish premier, denominated the prince of peace, condemned without reserve the temporizing duplicity of the pope's conduct.ⁱ The emperor alone, of all the sons of the church of Rome, was disposed to become its protector. Yet, so fully were the pontiff and his cabinet ministers bent on warlike councils, that, at the instant when all Europe resounded with the fame of Buonaparte's victories, the negotiations for peace, which the chevalier Azara had opened at Florence, were broken off, and an alliance was concluded with the Austrian court, by which the emperor engaged to send 10,000 men, to drive the French from the legations of Bologna and

^f Life of Pius the Sixth. 2. 296.^g Idem. 264. 88.^h Idem. 86. 90.ⁱ Ann. Reg. 12.

1797 and Ferrara.†^k When the distracted state of his domestic affairs, the want of resources, the discontent which prevailed among his subjects, and the extreme debility of his government, should have led him to conciliate the amity of a triumphant conqueror by a consistent demeanour and a strict performance of his engagements, the infatuated pontiff prepared to arrest the career of an army which had borne down the most vigorous resistance of the Austrians and Sardinians, commanded by the most experienced generals of the age. The result soon proved the absurdity and rashness of this line of conduct.—Buonaparte having discovered the pope's determination to warlike councils by an intercepted letter from cardinal Busca, the pope's secretary, to his nuncio at Vienna,^l availed himself of it as a plea for hostilities with the see of Rome, as soon as he was relieved from the war in the north by his victories over Alvinzi. When he had published a manifesto, grounding his justification on the pontiff's breach of his engagements, and his endeavours to stimulate other powers to support him in his warlike councils, general Victor, by his orders, attacked the papal army, intrenched behind the Senio,|| and obtained an easy victory over these new-raised troops; 500 of them being slain and 1000 taken prisoners, with fourteen pieces of artillery.^m

The French forces overrunning the Romagna and the duchy of Urbino without resistance, the court of Rome was filled with consternation; cardinal Mattei, archbishop of Faenza was employed to negotiate a peace; and, by his intervention a treaty was concluded, the chief articles of which were these: † that the pope should pay the treasurers of the French army 30,000,000 livres: that he should furnish 1600 horses fully caparisoned: that he should renounce all claim to the territories of Avignon and the Venaissin, the possession of which should be transferred to the French republic: moreover that he should transfer to it his rights in the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. It was also agreed that a commercial intercourse should be opened between the subjects of his holiness and the French republic, the benefit of which should extend to the Dutch states.ⁿ

Thus did Pius avert the evils which threatened him from his foreign enemy by the sacrifice of a great part of his dominions: and, to complete his

† Beginning of January.

|| February 2.

† February 23.

^k Life of Pius, 2. 291. 6.

^l Campaign. 261.

^m Idem. 268.

ⁿ Idem. 305.

his humiliation, cardinal Busca, his most active counsellor, was dismissed, to convince the French government of his change of councils.—The catholic king then dared to be seen on terms of amity with the holy father; and the chevalier Azara returned to Rome.†

But the pope's distresses were not yet surmounted: and he was destined, in his papacy, to exhibit a mournful example of a state beset by a powerful enemy, who seemed to suffer its existence only to lengthen out its misery, and at the same time languishing under all the internal diseases arising from temporal and spiritual tyranny. Destitute of the resources derived from agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, he was obliged to have recourse to expedients which rendered his government unpopular to enable him to perform his pecuniary engagements with France. A further emission was made of *cedole*: his subjects were required to bring the remainder of their plate to the treasury: and the ecclesiastics were called on for the loan of a sixth part of their property at an interest of three per cent.—These were measures which, however expedient, could not be adopted without exciting general dissatisfaction: for the expediency of enormous taxes and strong financial measures is not often admitted by those who are distressed by them. And the consequence was, that, while the unhappy pontiff was overwhelmed with grief and chagrin from a reflection on the public measures which he had been driven to consent to, and was meditating an escape from his dominions, to liberate himself from a foreign oppressor, the cup of affliction was embittered by domestic discontent. The eyes of his subjects were now opened to the defects of his government: and they were prepared to *fly to ills which they knew not of*, rather than endure any longer those under which they had so long groaned. Censures were freely uttered against his government. Songs and pasquinades were employed to render it odious. So prevalent was the spirit of disloyalty that it was daily expected to break out in rebellion. And the coercive means adopted to repress it served to increase the national ferment.—The effects of these alarming phenomena in the papal states not being immediately produced, we may, in the mean-time, attend to the occurrences of the war in the north of Italy.

The

† In April.

• Life of Pius. 2. 319.

• Idem. 307. 16.

1797

The battles which had taken place at the opening of the present year had proved fatal to the fourth army which the court of Vienna had sent into this country. But men being yet found in the Austrian states, and subsidies still remitted from England, a fifth army was raised, and the command of it was given to the archduke Charles, who had acquired great honour by his conduct in the late campaign.—This young prince bringing with him a strong reinforcement of troops from Germany, took a position behind the Piava river, to guard the entrance to the Austrian dominions.

The French general, who had watched their motions, being reinforced with a body of veterans under Kellerman, advanced towards them, and effected a passage of that river with his army in three divisions, commanded by Massena, Serrurier, and Guieux.†—The Austrians, then, retiring behind the Tagliamento, there determined to make a stand.—The passage of a river in the face of a strong army intrenched on its banks was a bold attempt: but the self-confidence of the French troops was carried to such a height by uninterrupted success, that difficulties and dangers only served to stimulate their ardour.—The Austrians were drawn out in excellent order, and they fought with the firmness of German veterans: but the several divisions of the French army, having crossed the river, made their attacks with such fury, and their artillery, in which they were superior to the Austrians, was so admirably served, that they were driven from their ground after a hard-fought battle, and retired for protection to the mountainous tracts of Carinthia. All the country on the north of the Adriatic was overrun by the French armies; and Palmanova, Gradisca, Goritz, and Trieste successively fell into their hands.‡ The Austrians made repeated efforts to stop the progress of the forces under Massena and Guieux, which were sent to harass them in their retreat: but these only afforded their antagonists an opportunity to earn new honours.

The division commanded by Joubert, which Buonaparte had dispatched to recover the country of Tyrol, was equally successful. Battles were fought in rapid succession at Lavis, Tramin, and Clausen;† and victory uniformly attended the French arms. Whilst another division under Bernadotte had penetrated into Carniola and gained possession of Laubach,

the

† In March.

‡ In March.

† In March.

* Campaign of 1797. 322.

* Idem. 322 to 32.

the capital.†—The commander in chief had, in the mean-time, advanced to Clagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia. And Massena, passing the Drave, which flows near that city, after defeating the imperialists under the archduke in person, had established himself in Stiria, within an hundred miles of Vienna. 1797

It is with pleasure that we carry our attention from the enthusiastic valour which marked the character of the French troops, to a contemplation of those virtues in their adversary which are most signally displayed in the rugged paths of adversity.—When the opulent inhabitants of the Austrian capital, filled with consternation at the enemy's rapid progress, were preparing to withdraw themselves with their effects to some place of greater security, the nobility, with a loyalty, patriotism, and fortitude becoming their rank, declared their determination to adhere firmly to their sovereign, and to maintain the common cause of their countrymen, with their persons and fortunes, to the last extremity. And notwithstanding the fate which had attended the battalions of volunteer gentlemen who had served under Alvinzi, that gallant corps was restored; and, with the assistance of persons from the subordinate classes who rallied round the imperial standard in this hour of danger, they formed a body of 8000 men.

These dangers were, however, averted by the pacific overtures made by the French general in the hour of victory. In a letter addressed to the archduke Charles,|| “ brave soldiers,” said he, “ make war, but desire peace. “ The war has now lasted six years. Men enough have been slaughtered, “ and evils enough committed against suffering humanity. Such are the “ exclamations on all sides. Europe, which has taken up arms against the “ French republic, has laid them down, and Austria alone, of all the continental powers, continues its enemy. Blood was still to flow; a sixth “ campaign was announced; and, whatever might be the result, thousands “ of gallant soldiers must fall a sacrifice. At some period, nevertheless, “ both parties must come to an understanding, since time brings all things “ to a conclusion, and extinguishes the most inveterate resentment.”—After censuring the conduct of Great Britain, to whose intervention he ascribed the continuance of the war, and doing honour to the martial character of

of

† April 1.

|| March 31.

Campaign of 1797. 338.

1797 of the archduke, he then invited that prince to unite with him in putting an end to the present contest; declaring "that he should be prouder of the "civic crown, to which he should thereby become entitled, than of the "melancholy glory resulting from the most brilliant exploits in war."

Had this conqueror ceased to disturb the world by his warlike enterprises, had not his subsequent conduct evinced that an insatiable ambition was the ruling passion in his breast, to the gratification of which he was ready to sacrifice the rights of individuals and the welfare of nations, we might have honoured him for his sincerity, whilst we subscribe to sentiments which breathe the generous spirit of benevolence.—It is left to the reader, after reflecting on the general tenour of his conduct, to judge whether policy may not have had an equal share with humanity in recommending these moderate councils. Whatever were his motives, his conduct was certainly justified by prudence and good sense. He must have considered how much his army would necessarily have been diminished, to garrison the fortresses and man the posts which he would leave behind him. He was, no doubt, sensible of the effects of patriotism on a warlike people. He was, perhaps, apprehensive that he might be attacked on different sides whilst entangled among the mountains; that, should he sustain a defeat and his retreat be cut off, the honour which he had acquired by the good conduct of himself and his subordinate generals would be lost and his ambitious views would be blasted; and that, even should he succeed in gaining possession of the Austrian capital, then guarded by an army of 30,000 men under general Mack,* the neighbouring powers, who had tamely submitted to the terms of peace prescribed to them by France, being more powerfully actuated by a sense of danger to the common interests of princes than by jealousy of Great Britain and Austria, would resume their arms.

The archduke readily consented to become the mediator of peace; but said that he could not enter upon a negotiation till he had received further powers.—Buonaparte, then, suspecting that his rival sought occasion of delay till he should be joined by a reinforcement which he expected under general Spork, instantly put his army in motion. He had advanced as far as Judenburg in Stiria, when commissioners arrived from the court of Vienna.

An

* Campaign of 1797. p. 46.

† Dumouriez's Sketch of Europe. 6.

An armistice for ten days was, in consequence, agreed to; upon terms very advantageous to the French republic, but such as the conqueror might be expected to dictate: || by it the posts occupied by him in the provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, Stiria, and Tyrol, together with the strong fortress of Gratz, the possession of which would give Buonaparte an open road to Austria, were to be held by them till a general pacification should be concluded.*

The events which took place on the Rhine during these occurrences on the Austrian frontier concurred in determining the court of Vienna to submit to the humiliating terms of peace insisted on by their enemy.—The drafts of veteran troops which had been necessarily made from the imperial army in that quarter having given Moreau a superiority of force, he seized the opportunity to renew his operations. Not a moment was lost in making his movements for the recovery of Kehl, which had been reduced by the Austrians at the opening of this campaign, after a siege of two months. Crossing the Rhine in the face of the enemy, after defeating the troops posted for its protection, he soon made himself master of the fortress.

General Hoche, mean-while, was equally successful in his efforts on the lower Rhine, where he was opposed by general Kray, an officer of eminent abilities. Having effected his passage of the river at Nieuwied, he came to an engagement with the Austrians near that fortress. The conflicts were severe: the imperialists maintained their ground with their characteristic firmness, and repelled the impetuous assaults of their adversaries. Being once thrown into disorder, they rallied, and maintained their ground for some time. But they were, at last, forced to yield to the furious assaults of the French cavalry.—The Austrians could now no longer maintain the contest in this quarter: the several divisions of the French forces drove them from all their posts; and Hoche's army was within a few hours' march of Francfort, when intelligence arrived that preliminaries of peace had been signed at Leoben, in Stiria.†—Never was the house of Austria so humbled as by this treaty. It treated, not of the cession of fortresses or districts, but of whole provinces. By it the emperor left the French republic

|| April 7.

† April 18.

* Campaign, 352.

• Annual Register, 37. 342.

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republic in possession of the Austrian Netherlands, and relinquished his right to his hereditary states in Lombardy, which became a part of the Cisalpine republic. Territories which were esteemed the most valuable gems in his diadem, which had descended to him from those illustrious ancestors who had opposed with success the most powerful monarchs of France, were now transferred to a formidable rival, who thereby not only greatly extended their frontier, but added to the maritime importance and commercial advantages of their dominions, and increased their strength by giving them a natural barrier on the side of Germany.

The mystery which enveloped this treaty, to which Buonaparte was indebted for extricating him from surrounding perils, was unravelled by the subsequent transactions.—The French republicans, it may be observed, had succeeded in their revolutionary projects not more by their own energy than by a want of harmony and vigour in their enemies. This was the bane of that formidable confederacy which had been formed against France; and the same cause contributed to the success of its arms in Italy. Had the Italian states acted with spirit in support of their common interests, before repeated triumphs had inspired Buonaparte's troops with that enthusiasm which taught them to deem themselves invincible, it is possible that he might have been arrested in his career.—On the contrary, the enemies of that conqueror, at the same time that they contributed to the success of his arms by their disunion and pusillanimity, gratified him in his political views by that faint, ineffectual display of enmity which afforded him a plausible plea for his tyranny towards them. We have seen this observation justified in the conduct of the Roman pontiff: and we are now to see it further exemplified in that of the Venetian republic. This state was hostile to France from political principles, as well as a dread of its power. The aristocracy which governed it were justly apprehensive lest its subjects should be roused from that torpor which rendered them insensible of oppression, and by reflection become sensible of their natural rights. Had the senate possessed the wisdom and spirit which are observable in the proceedings of that body in former periods, they would, under these circumstances, have averted their destruction by reforming abuses and conciliating the attachment of the people to the state, and they would have united with the Austrians in a vigorous resistance

France to the French arms; and, by their strength and influence, they might possibly have turned the scale of fortune against France. This, however, was too great an exertion for an aristocracy enervated by luxury and habitual indolence. But, although they were not capable of acting so honourable a part in open opposition to France, yet they uniformly discovered an inclination to favour the Austrian cause. The inhabitants of the Venetian provinces were encouraged to insult the republicans. The press was made the instrument of defaming them and condemning their conduct. When the French forces were passing into the Austrian territories, their enmity broke out in open acts of hostility. They expelled the French from their cities: and when two battalions were on their march to join Buonaparte's army, they were attacked by the Venetian troops and obliged to fight their way through them. ¹⁷⁹⁷

These futile acts of hostility afforded a specious plea for those measures which smoothed the way to a definitive treaty between the French republic and the emperor.—It was in vain that the Venetian senate disavowed any inimical intention towards France. Buonaparte, on his return to Italy, issued a manifesto,[†] wherein he specified the violences committed on the French troops and others, and particularly the repeated attacks made on their convoys and forces on their march,* and their threat “that the lion of St. Mark would verify the proverb, that Italy was the tomb of the French.”

Venice was now doomed to feel the fatal consequences of its rashness, in having sanctioned or connived at these hostile actions towards the French republic, without previous arrangements for a co-operation with the Austrians. Thinking himself justified by the representations contained in his manifesto, Buonaparte ordered the French resident to leave the city, and his troops to treat those of Venice as enemies. The French forces, then, overran and ravaged the Venetian territories; and several furious conflicts ensued, in which the Venetians were defeated.—The senate, perceiving that resistance would be fruitless, submitted to the French general; offering to deliver up the persons of whom he complained. But no merit was now ascribed to them for their submission. They were treated as a conquered

* Annual Register. 41.

† May 13.

* State Papers. ap. Annual Register. 337.

1797 conquered nation. The French forces took possession of Venice: || and a provisional government was established on republican principles.*

The destruction of this ancient republic served as a prelude to a new organization of the Italian states.—Buonaparte, a military adventurer whom the French government had chosen for their general and the panic-struck house of Austria had made the arbitrator of the fate of nations, prepared, in the plenitude of his power, “to give the vanquished world another form.”—Violent feuds having taken place in Genoa between the aristocratic and democratic partisans, Buonaparte interposed by request of the latter; and dispatched a body of troops to their aid, which, under colour of affording them protection, gave him possession of the city.—The aristocrats, being unable to make any effectual resistance, yielded to his arbitrary will: and a republican government was constituted upon the model of that of France.^b

His next measure was to give a more perfect form and a firmer existence to that Cisalpine republic which owed its birth to him.—The confederations formed in the states of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, and other provinces comprised under the name of Lombardy, having consented to be converted into a single republic, Buonaparte issued this summary proclamation from his camp at Monte Bello. “The Cisalpine republic was “for many years under the dominion of the house of Austria. The French “republic succeeded it by right of conquest. It now renounces this right; “and the Cisalpine republic is free and independent. Recognised by “France and the emperor, it will soon be equally acknowledged by the “rest of Europe. The executive directory of the French republic, not “content with employing its influence and the victories of the republican “armies to secure the political existence of the Cisalpine republic, extends “its care still further; and, convinced that, if liberty be the first of blessings, the revolution which attends it is the greatest of evils, it has “given to the Cisalpine people their peculiar constitution, resulting from “the wisdom of the most enlightened nation. From a military regime the “Cisalpine people pass to a constitutional one, That this transition should “experience

| May 16.

* Annual Register, 42.

b Idem. 43.

“ experience no shock, nor be exposed to anarchy, the executive direc- 1797
 “ tory has thought proper to nominate, for the present, the members of the
 “ government and the legislative body; so that the people should, after the
 “ lapse of one year, have the election to the vacant places, in conformity
 “ to the constitution.—For a great number of years, there existed no
 “ republic in Italy. The sacred fire of liberty was extinguished; and the
 “ finest part of Europe was under the yoke of strangers. It belongs to
 “ the Cisalpine republic to shew the world by its wisdom, its energy, and
 “ the organization of its armies, that modern Italy is not degenerated, and
 “ is still worthy of liberty.”^c

During these proceedings relative to the new constituted republic, the emperor had been taking preparatory steps for the execution of that political scheme by which he was to be indemnified for his cessions to France. With this view he had ordered a body of troops to enter Venetian Istria. And we find him assigning as one of the reasons for this invasion of the territories of a state which had shewn itself friendly to him throughout the contest, “ that the revolutionary spirit which had manifested itself in
 “ the inhabitants of the Venetian territory threatened the neighbouring
 “ countries, and compelled the emperor to secure himself from the un-
 “ happy consequences which might be the result,”^d when he was on the point of concluding a treaty of amity with that republic, which was the grand source of the revolutionary principles which he deprecated.

But the secret which had been withheld from the public in the transactions between his imperial majesty and the French republic was now laid open by a treaty concluded by their plenipotentiaries at Campo Formio,[†] whereby the emperor was invested with the sovereignty of Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian isles in the Adriatic, the city of Venice, and other territories, on his acknowledging the Cisalpine republic, his confirming the French republic in its possession of the Belgic provinces, and his consenting to its possession of the Venetian isles in the Levant, and the Venetian settlements in Albania which are situated below the gulph of Lodrino.—It was also agreed that a commercial treaty should be concluded between the contracting powers: and that a congress should be opened within a month at Rastadt,

[†] October 17.

^c State Papers. 339. ap. Ann. Regist.

^d Idem. 342.

1797 Rastadt, composed solely of the plenipotentiaries of the Germanic empire and the French republic, to conclude a pacification between these powers.*

From the moment when this celebrated treaty was signed, by which the emperor deserted his firmest friend in the hour of distress, when he raised his deadliest enemies and most formidable rival to the summit of political importance, and leagued with them in dividing the spoils of a friendly power, the glory of the Austrian house may be said to have been at an end. For although the territories which he received in compensation for those which he had lost or ceded, considering their local advantages, may be nearly an equivalent, yet he obtained them at the expence of his honour; a consideration which ought alone to have deterred a sovereign prince from consenting to it. But there were some articles in the secret convention that accompanied the treaty which rendered it still more degrading, as, by them, he leagued himself with the same power, to forward their mutual interests at the expence of the princes and states of the empire, which he had bound himself in the most solemn manner to protect.

“ By these the emperor engaged to consent that the Rhine should, conformably with the desire of the republic, be the boundary between France and Germany, and to use his mediation for procuring the like consent on the part of the states and princes of the empire. Were they to refuse their consent, he agreed to furnish no more than his bare contingent of troops, in case hostilities resulted from this refusal. The French, in return, were to exert their influence in procuring the cession of Saltsburg, with some considerable districts in Bavaria, to the emperor, *For every acquisition made by France in the empire it was stipulated that he should receive an equivalent; and, for every one that he made, France should receive another, in like manner.*—The republic, in order to induce the assent of the king of Prussia to these arrangements, restored his dominions on the left bank of the Rhine, and allowed a territorial indemnification to be given to the stadtholder, provided it were not in the neighbourhood of the Batavian republic. To this also the emperor assented, on condition it were not in the vicinity of his own dominions; carefully stipulating that Prussia should make no new acquisition.—He, moreover,

* State Papers. ap. Ann. Regist. 343.

“ moreover, gave his formal assent to the dispositions made by the French
 “ in Italy of the various imperial fiefs in favour of the Ligurian and Cisal-
 “ pine republics; and promised to concur, jointly with France in soliciting
 “ the diet of the empire to give up its feudal sovereignty over those districts.
 “ —He further agreed to act in concert with the republic, in order to
 “ obtain the consent of the empire, that the ecclesiastical electors and the
 “ other princes of the empire who suffered any loss of territory, either
 “ in consequence of this convention or of the pacification to be concluded
 “ hereafter between France and the empire, should be proportionably
 “ indemnified in Germany.”^f

It will be a satisfaction to any one who feels himself interested in the honour of princes and the welfare of kingly governments to carry his attention from these transactions, which will disgrace the head of the Germanic empire as long as they remain on record, to those of a state which, amidst the severest distresses that domestic distraction, pecuniary embarrassment, the desertion of its confederates, and the consequent ill success of the allied arms, could bring on it, had adhered inviolably to good faith, had demeaned itself with the spirit which so important a juncture demanded, and had preserved the honour and dignity of the crown unsullied.

We have seen the occurrences of the late campaign with Great Britain closed with an unsuccessful expedition of the French fleet destined for an invasion of Ireland. “—Although it was not thought advisable immediately to resume this enterprise, yet our enemy, in order to keep the British government and nation in a continual state of alarm, dispatched a squadron consisting of only four vessels, with some landmen on board, to annoy the English coasts. A descent was made by them on the coast of Pembroke-shire. But they were so ill prepared for warlike operations, and were themselves so ill qualified for them, that they were obliged to surrender to lord Cawdor, who put himself at the head of 700 militia-men and others who repaired to his standard.[†] ^h

It was the only consolation of his Britannic majesty, when deserted by the confederates who had drawn him into the war, that he was still enabled
 by

† February 24.

^f Ann. Regist. 47.

^g See Great Britain. 1796.

^h Ann. Regist. 89.

1797 by the loyalty of his people and the vast resources of the state to maintain his superiority at sea.—The naval operations of this campaign commenced with an expedition against the Spanish settlement of Trinidad, conducted by admiral Harvey and general Abercromby, with a squadron of four ships of war and a body of land forces on board.—An accidental firing of the shipping stationed for its defence led to the surrender of the island without resistance. ||—This event was followed by an attack on Porto Rico by the same commanders, which failed of success. †¹

The hardest contest in this quarter was in the island of St. Domingo.—The French forces there, commanded by general Rigaud, made a vigorous effort to recover those places which were in the possession of the planters who had thrown themselves under the protection of Great Britain, and were guarded by English troops. He invested Trois, a strong place which had lately fallen into their hands; but was repulsed by the small garrison that defended it.—Coming to a second and more furious assault, he was again repulsed by the garrison, with the aid of captain Rickets in the *magicienne* frigate; and was, in the event, obliged to retire with the loss of 1000 men.²—The same success uniformly attended the British arms in the West Indies; and some considerable captures were made in the course of the campaign.

But it was in the European seas that Great Britain was to receive her just reward of glory for her exertions in support of the independency of Europe.—In conformity with that disgraceful treaty by which Spain had condescended, in effect, to become the pander to the immoderate ambition of a republic founded on the ruins of the eldest branch of the Bourbon house, the Spanish monarch, influenced by a minister who was devoted to the French interests, had engaged to send out a strong fleet to join that of Brest. By a series of extraordinary events originating in that convulsion which had taken place in Europe, the catholic king was made the instrument for destroying monarchy: and the Spanish nation were made the tools in exalting a state which had ever been considered as the rival of their own, and a people towards whom they had ever felt a national antipathy.

The Spanish admiral put to sea with a fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line,

|| February 17.

† In April.

¹ Ann. Regist. 90. 91.

² Idem. 92.

line, of which one was of 136 guns, and six were of 112.—The English fleet opposed to this formidable armament consisted of only fifteen ships of the line and some frigates, commanded by admiral Jarvis.—With this unequal force he met his antagonist off Cape St. Vincent.†—Perceiving his enemy's superiority, the British admiral seized the favourable moment which presented itself before their line was formed to pierce, through them and separate eight ships from their main body.—The Spaniard, in a movement to defeat the purpose of this stroke of admiralship, was furiously attacked by Nelson in the rear-most ship. A desperate conflict ensued; in the result of which four of the Spanish ships were taken.—At the close of the engagement, Jarvis, observing that the ships which he had cut off were preparing to support the main battle, drew up his ships, most of which were in a shattered condition, in close order to defend himself.—This movement also had the desired effect. The Spaniard dared not, even with the advantage of eight fresh ships, encounter an adversary whom he had experienced to be so greatly his superior in naval skill and prowess: and the British admiral was suffered to retire in triumph with his captured vessels.¹

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This victory, so honourable to the British flag, was rendered more flattering and satisfactory to the nation by its consequences: the joy which they felt when informed of it was heightened by intelligence that the Spanish fleet was blocked up in the bay of Cadiz. Many weeks had not elapsed after this battle, before Nelson was employed to insult the Spaniards in that harbour. That brave officer had sustained a severe conflict with the commandant who sallied out upon him with his gun-boats,|| when he advanced again with his bomb-vessels; † from which he bombarded the city, and obliged the Spanish admiral, for safety, to warp his largest men of war as close as possible to the shore for protection.

An expedition which was entered upon immediately after by the same officer, now appointed an admiral, against Santa Cruz in the isle of Teneriffe, displayed more of the daring spirit of enterprise than of judgment.—The naval force employed in it consisted of only four ships of the line and three frigates.—The troops destined to make the descent were formed into

two.

† February 14.

|| July 3.

† July 5.

¹ Ann. Regist. 95.

1797 two divisions, and their movements were made under cover of the night, that they might take their enemy by surprise. So great, however, was the surf, that it was with much difficulty that their boats could reach the shore. The first division, under Nelson, was overpowered by the forces which lined the batteries and houses near the mole.—The other division, under captain Trowbridge, forced their way into the town: but, to their surprise, they found it guarded by 8000 troops.—Trowbridge, perceiving his perilous situation, dispatched captain Hood with a message to the governor, “that if he would allow him without molestation to embark his people, and furnish him with boats for that purpose, to supply the place of those which had been stoven, the squadron before the town would not molest it.”—On the governor’s refusal, and his demanding that they should surrender prisoners of war, captain Hood told him, “that if the proffered terms were not instantly accepted, the town would be fired.” On which the governor complied: and it ought to be mentioned to his honour, that he humanely ordered the wounded English to be received into his hospitals.—It is by such actions as these that the wars of civilized nations are distinguished from those of barbarians; and those who perform them ought to be held up as objects of imitation.

The British seamen were now to contend with an adversary which had ever been considered as their rival in fame.—The Dutch states, in obedience to the desires or the injunctions of their imperious allies, sent out a fleet, at this time, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, commanded by admiral de Winter, to join that of Brest in an invasion of Ireland.—The Dutch fleet had not left the coast of Holland before it was descried by admiral Duncan, who was stationed with a fleet of sixteen ships to watch their motions.—The British admiral came immediately to an engagement:† and, with his characteristic spirit, and the address which results from a perfect knowledge of naval tactics, he, by his first movements, broke the enemy’s line, and prevented a retreat by getting between them and the shore.—A furious battle ensued, in which each captain singled out his antagonist. Duncan chose the Dutch admiral. Their ships were near three hours along side of each other: and de Winter’s was reduced to a wreck before he struck

† October 11.

■ Ann. Regist. 98.

struck to his brave rival.—The vice-admiral of the Dutch was opposed to admiral Onslow; and, after a signal display of valour, was constrained to yield to the same fate. When the battle had raged above four hours, victory had evidently declared for the British fleet; eight of the enemy's ships of the line and four smaller vessels being captured."—By this disaster all hopes of prescribing terms of peace to the English monarch in his own capital, and of reducing the British nation to the same state of humiliation with the other confederates against France, were completely frustrated.

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The temper and inclination of the several parties which divided the French nation during these occurrences at the different seats of war, and the domestic events and transactions which they gave occasion to, deserve our particular attention.—Notwithstanding all Europe resounded with the exploits of the republican armies, their fame did not exempt the government under whose auspices they acted from censure. The directory and the two councils were distracted by feuds: and some of the most respectable names in the kingdom were among the opponents to the ruling powers. The directory were accused of mismanagement in various departments of the state, and especially that of finance, the most interesting to the nation, and some notorious misapplications of the public money were laid to their charge.*

These divisions afforded the royalists, and those republicans who were adverse to the present administration, advantages of which they did not neglect to avail themselves. Intrigues, were carried on by the agents of the exiled Lewis the Eighteenth, the late king's brother, which were said to have been encouraged by the English government, the object of which was to place that prince on the throne. The declarations of the persons who were apprehended as ringleaders in the conspiracy, if credited, was a sufficient evidence of its existence: and this was confirmed by a letter at this time published by Lewis the Eighteenth, in which it was seen that his agents were commissioned by him to prevail on the people to renounce their allegiance to the republican government, which was represented as a system of anarchy and tyranny; and to restore the ancient monarchy, as the only means of relieving the nation from their present calamities. They were also directed to persuade the people to embrace the opportunity which

* Ann. Regist. 100.

• Idem. 56.

1797 which the approaching election of representatives to the legislature would afford them to make choice of persons whose principles were favourable to royalty.^p

The public mind was violently agitated at this crisis. The two parties charged each other with bribery and corruption. And the passions of the partisans were daily more incensed by such malevolent aspersions as anger suggested.—When the legislature assembled, || wherein were the members elected to supply the place of that third part which annually vacated their seats, it was evident that the labours of the opposition had not been fruitless.^q Powerful efforts were made to circumscribe the authority of the directory, which was asserted to have been extended by encroachments on the powers of the councils. And the alarm which this occasioned was heightened by the refusal of a considerable number of the public functionaries to renew the oath of hatred to royalty, which they had taken on their entrance into office. The directory, then, that they might make a trial of their strength and confirm themselves in the favour of the warm republicans, brought the matter to an issue, by proposing a law to oblige them to comply with this requisition. And the result was agreeable to their wishes; a decree being passed, “ that every elector previously to his “ entrance upon his functions should formally declare his attachment to “ the constitution of the third year, and pledge himself to defend them “ and the republic to the utmost of his abilities.”^r

This decree evinced the superiority of the strenuous republicans in the legislature; but it was not decisive of the contest. Each party exerted themselves with the utmost energy to reinforce themselves and embarrass and weaken their adversaries.—The opponents of the ruling party endeavoured to distress them, and to deprive them of their popularity, by censures on their conduct; by calling for a strict investigation of their proceedings relative to the war; and by recommending pacific councils as essential to the national welfare. And, by their weight, they accomplished the repeal of some of the severe laws against the royalists during Robespierre's tyranny. They also prevailed so far as to procure a decree of the councils, to prevent the increase of the republican clubs, by formally prohibiting all meetings for political discussions under heavy penalties.[†] This

|| In May.

† In July.

^p Ann. Regist. 53.

^q Idem. 52. 55.

^r Idem. 54.

^s Idem. 59. 61.

This afforded matter of triumph to the royalists and the advocates of moderation, but contributed nothing to their strength. On the contrary, it enabled the democrats to render them odious in the eyes of the nation by representing them as enemies to liberty. It also interested the army in their cause, and gave them the vigorous support of the generals who were leading the republican forces to victory, and, by their achievements were confirming the ascendancy which the French republic had acquired on the continent of Europe. Buonaparte embraced the opportunity presented by the celebration of the anniversary of the revolution† to declare his resolution to maintain the republican cause; and admonished his troops to beware of the counter-revolutionary designs which were in agitation.—Joubert, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Vignolle, and Hoche, all manifested the same zeal to support the existing system of government and the present administration; they declared their abhorrence of their adversaries, and especially of the priests, whom they accused “of heating the heads and “ sharpening the daggers of the enemies of the republic.”

Whilst the nation was embroiled by the inflammatory harangues and publications of the several parties, the directory itself was divided: Barras, Reubel, and Larevillere were strenuous advocates for republican government. Carnot and Barthélemy were thought to entertain sentiments more favourable to the opposition: and these last derived confidence in themselves from the countenance of Pichegru and others, whose services in the military and civil line had given them considerable influence in the nation. * *

The

† July 14.

* Annual Register. 62.

* Idem. 63. 64.

* The following gives us the sentiments of a well-informed person respecting the intentions of this celebrated general, and makes us acquainted with his system of war and the character of the French troops. “Of the intention of general Pichegru to restore the royal family of France, there is not now any doubt. It has been clearly avowed, indeed, by subsequent occurrences. “As we have had occasion to take notice in our volume for 1794, he was never at great pains to disguise his sentiments, wishes, and designs, in favour of royalty. He possessed a fine understanding, as well as great knowledge and skill in military affairs: but the most prominent feature in his character, was a manly boldness, simplicity, and strength of mind, which, scorning defiles, advanced, as directly as possible, to its object.”—The following remarks on the tactics, manners, and person of general Pichegru, are extracted and translated from a work, entitled, *Histoire Chronologique des operations de l’Armée du Nord, et de celle de Sambre et Meuse, par le citoyen*

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The violent feuds which this difference of principles and opposition of interests occasioned were carried to a greater height by an order from the directory for the approach of a strong body of troops within seven leagues of Paris. ||—Conscious of the unconstitutional nature of this measure, which was severely descanted on in the grand councils, the directory disavowed the instructions for their near approach to the capital. But when pressed by their opponents, they justified the measure by insisting on the danger which threatened the commonwealth from the machinations of the royalists; and declared “that they should think themselves guilty of treason were they to conceal from their fellow-citizens or the troops the attempts which were carried on to effect a counter-revolution, by overthrowing the present government by treason or by force.”*

Confident in the support of the army, the prevailing party in the directory determined to bring the matter to an issue by still bolder measures. Affecting an apprehension that the conspiracy which they had before announced to the public was now on the point of breaking out in open rebellion, they ordered Augereau, whom Buonaparte had sent to Paris

|| July 20.

citoyen David, Temoin, du plupart de leurs Exploits. “The tactics of general Pichegru are of a nature altogether new and original. His system consists wholly in pursuing the enemy without intermission; in courting opportunities of engagements; in keeping his whole force together, without dividing it for the purpose of carrying on sieges; to reduce only such as are necessary, in order to secure proper positions, without seeming to be at all concerned about the reduction of such strong places as he had left behind him.

“This system of military tactics was the only one that was suitable to our situation; and further, it was the only system that suited the character of the French. It is not to be doubted, that our troops were full of courage and bravery; but the greater part of them was newly levied, and not sufficiently trained in sieges, for the purpose of undertaking a siege of any difficulty. Farther still, the French soldier is too ardent and impatient to go through with a chain of operations that require perseverance. In the field, he darts forth as an eagle, and fights like a lion. But a long and arduous siege repels, and, oftentimes, even discourages him. In order to have a military body of men perfect and invincible, it would be necessary to carry on sieges with Swiss troops, and to have French armies of observation. But while a general has only Frenchmen under his command, he ought not to let them grow restive, by remaining long in one place; but to keep them always in breath, and always within view of the enemy.

“If Pichegru had obeyed the orders of the committee of public safety; if he had not known the character of the French, and adopted an unusual system of tactics, he would have sacrificed fifty thousand men, at least, before our towns of Hainault. Perhaps he might have been beaten. And even, in case of success and victory, he most assuredly would not have been able to push his conquests even to the northern sea, and the confines of Westphalia.”—*Annual Register*. 79.

* *Annual Register*. 64. 70.

Paris under pretence of business, to arrest certain of the national representatives, and conduct them to the temple prison.†—A proclamation was then issued, "that whoever should propose the restoration of royalty, the re-establishment of the constitution of 1793, or the elevation of any of the Orleans' family to the throne, should be shot." Moreover, to secure the support of the nation at large, and particularly the Parisians, an address was published to convince them of the absolute necessity of adopting such strong measures for the preservation of the republic; "saying that the citizens would shudder with horror, when they should be apprized by the evidences which would be laid before them of the plots entered into against their persons, and their dearest rights and possessions;" and, after adverting to some particulars in proof of their assertions, exhorting them to confide in their rulers, and rely upon their patriotism and their abilities for the accomplishment of those objects for which the nation had toiled so long and made so many sacrifices.'

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This was preparatory to the resolute measures which the directory were about to adopt. Upon the grounds of the impending evils, and under the plausible pretence of preventing a renewal of all the horrors of civil war, a number of resolutions were entered into by the council of five hundred; ‡ and, among others, one "by which the transactions of the primary, communal, and electoral assemblies in fifty departments were declared illegal; the persons elected by them to public offices and to seats in the legislature were compelled to resign them; and the directory were empowered to nominate to the vacancies thence occasioned in official places." And, by another resolution, "Barthelemy and Carnot, members of the executive directory, eleven members of the council of elders, forty-two members of the council of five hundred, with ten other persons, were sentenced to transportation to any place appointed by the directory."—Beside the two members of the directory before mentioned, there were among the proscribed the names of Pichegru, Boissy d'Anglas, Dumolard, Desmolieres, Villaret Joyouse a naval officer of high repute, Pastoret, general Miranda, Cochon late minister of police, and others who had distinguished themselves in different departments of the state.

The

† September 4.

‡ September 5.

y Annual Register. 76. 80.

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The prevailing faction, although they were persuaded that this violent proceeding was necessary to preserve themselves in power, were sensible of the impression which such an outrage against the constitution would have on the minds of the people. The council of five hundred, therefore, published an address to the nation, vindicating their resolutions on the principle of state necessity, as the only expedient by which they could frustrate the horrid designs with which they charged the proscribed persons for the ruin of the republic.—On the contrary, it was alleged by those who condemned the measure, that the accused persons positively denied the charge; that even the existence of the conspiracy had not been legally proved; and that to pass sentence on them without bringing them to an open trial argued an apprehension that they would not have been found guilty before an impartial jury.* It is observable also that their self-constituted judges were persons deeply interested in their condemnation.

Whatever weight these representations had on the public mind, it must have been matter of extreme regret to men of reflection, who were free from party spirit and sincerely interested in the national welfare, to find that, after nine years of civil dissension, after repeated changes of constitution, after the most mature deliberations of the wisest men in the French dominions, France was seen to have been delivered from despotism only to be subjected to the sorer evil of a tyrannical oligarchy.

SPAIN.

1797

Don Ferdinand having humbled himself so far as to become the ally of a republic which had declared itself inimical to monarchy itself, whose principles he deprecated, and whose power he dreaded, is now obliged to take an active part against a crown which was, by its arms and resources, maintaining the cause of monarchs and the independency of Europe.—The chastisement which the catholic king experienced, the probable consequence of this miserable policy, having been already given in the French history, we need only add, that don Ferdinand, as a further expression of his

* Annual Register. 85. 7.

his enmity to Great Britain, issued a proclamation, this year, prohibiting the importation of British goods, in order to distress the English nation and to give every possible advantage to France;^a to a power which had filled all Europe with the terror of its arms, and which had already made the Italian princes and states the victims of its tyranny and rapacity. 1797

PORTUGAL.

THE queen of Portugal, intimidated by the menaces of France, and actuated by the same dread of its vengeance which had seized other neighbouring powers, dispatched don d'Aranjo as her ambassador, this year, to Paris, to negotiate an amicable settlement of the matters in dispute with the French government. The way was smoothed by the promise of a sum of money to the directory themselves, beside a large sum to be paid for the public service of the state.^a—The conditions of a treaty of amity and commerce were settled by the ministers of the two powers, when the directory, being informed that her majesty, unwilling to desert her ancient and most valuable ally, the king of Great Britain, had entered into amicable arrangements with him for the defence of her dominions, annulled the intended treaty.—Moreover, when don d'Aranjo delayed his departure with a view of reviving the negotiation, they ordered him to be arrested and imprisoned in the temple.^b 1797

GERMANY AND PRUSSIA.

THE defects of the Germanic system were at this time placed in a very striking light. The people, disgusted with the maraudings and outrages of the French invaders, were ready to join their respective governments in hostilities with them. But from want of harmony among the states of the empire 1797

^a State Papers. 358.
Annual Register. 1799. p. 100.

^{aa} Ann. Reg. 1799. p. 100.

^b State Papers. 1799. 334. and

1797 empire arose a consciousness of weakness. Hence political timidity took place among a nation of the bravest men and the best soldiers in the world. And the consequence of this disunion and these fears was, that the head of this warlike people, finding himself not properly supported, and despairing of success in the accomplishment of his purpose of recovering the conquered provinces in the Netherlands, was induced to sign a treaty of peace with France, by which the interests of the subordinate members of the Germanic body were sacrificed to the individual interests of the house of Austria.* It was stipulated, however, that a congress should be opened at Rastadt, where their rights should be investigated, and the equivalents to be granted them should be settled.

The attention of all Europe was now directed to this congress, the result of which was expected to have so great an influence on the independency of the German states and the general welfare.—To its decisions the Prussian monarch looked for his final reward for having, in open disregard of public faith and the public good, deserted his confederates, and indirectly supported the interests of their common enemy.†

Frederic William, in the mean-time, whom madame de Lichtnau Rietz had long held her captive in the soft trammels of luxurious pleasure, was rapidly approaching the close of his inglorious reign. Whilst he suffered himself to be amused with hopes of recovery by the *illuminati*, who shared the ascendancy with that favourite lady, he fell a victim to a lingering disorder which his excesses had brought on him in his fifty-fourth year.‡ —He was succeeded on the throne by his son, FREDERIC WILLIAM THE THIRD, a prince whose disposition and talents for government afford his people hopes of a prosperous reign.

DENMARK. SWEDEN, AND RUSSIA.

1797 THE courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, having no inducement to depart from their system of neutrality, continued to reap the fruits of their prudent policy.

† End of November.

‡ November 17.

The

* Ann. Reg. 1799. State Papers. 307.

The line of policy pursued by the Russian emperor likewise was pacific, though apparently originating in different motives from those which actuated the wise statesmen who presided at those courts. He had the same reasons for opposing the progress of the victorious French arms as the late empress had. But either a determined opposition to her plans, or a high opinion of his own judgment, or the influence of the French partisans, led him to depart from the measures which she intended to have pursued. He countermanded the orders which she had given for the march of her troops into Gallicia; where they were to have been prepared to co-operate with the confederates against France,^a and discovered a disposition to preserve peace with the French republic.

1797

EAST INDIES.

THE present state of the eastern courts was very propitious to the views of Tippoo Sultan.—We have seen, in the history of the Maratta state at a preceding period,^a that, from the nature of its constitution and administration, it is particularly exposed to feuds. Of this circumstance Tippoo Sultan did not neglect to avail himself. By his influence, first with Madajee Schindia, and afterwards with his successor, Dowlet Row Schindia, a powerful Maratta chief, at the court of Poonah, he was undermining the authority of the paishwa, Row Pundit Purdham, under whose administration the treaty of alliance had been formed with the English company.^b

1797

The broils at the court of Hyderabad, where the aged nizam was dropping into the grave, were equally favourable to his intriguing emissaries.—Agreeably with the practice of the Indian princes at this period, who were endeavouring to introduce the European system of tactics, a corps of 14,000 men had been formed and disciplined in the Decan under the direction of monsieur Raymund, a French officer. This afforded a powerful partisan to those who wished to supplant the English company and their friends, under whose auspices the nizam had entered into his present treaty with them. Influenced by the counsels of this party, the nizam, about this time,

^a Annual Register. p. 3.^{aa} See 1775.^b Wood's Review. 6. Narr. Sketch. 6. 9.

1797

time, dismissed a British detachment which had served him as a body guard since the conclusion of the late war.—The purpose of that prince's evil counsellors was evinced by an event which immediately ensued. Before the troops had scarcely reached the company's territories, he was obliged to solicit their return, to subdue a rebellion raised by Ali Jah, one of his sons. They were recalled in compliance with the advice of the nizam's prime minister; who was convinced of the good policy of adhering to the British interests: but he had not weight sufficient to restrain the growing influence of the French and Mysorean partisans at the court of Hyderabad.^c

These intrigues at Poonah and Hyderabad may be considered only as accessories to that grand scheme of policy which he was meditating for an entire revolution in the governments of India.—One of his confederates in this plot was Zemaun Shâh, a descendant from Ahmed Khaun Abdalla, an Afghan chief who followed the standard of Nadir Shâh, in his invasion of India in 1739, and who possessed dominions so extensive and populous, near the banks of the Indus, that he is said to have it in his power to bring 150,000 men, chiefly cavalry, into the field.^{d*}

In the prosecution of this design, Tippoo betrayed the perfidy which made one of the features of his character.—Whilst he was endeavouring to impress lord Mornington, now governor of Madras, with a persuasion of his

^c Wood. 7 and 8.

^d Idem. 37.

* “Zemaun Shâh is the grandson of Ahmed Khaun Abdalla, an Afghan chief, who followed the standard of Nadir Shâh, on his invasion of India, in the year 1739. His dominions extend from the left bank of the Indus, coming from the sea coast, as high up as the parallel of Cashmeer. Eastward of the Attoch, they skirt the Seick nation to some distance beyond the territory of Jamboo. They extend westward, to the vicinity of Terkish, comprehending Kabul, Kandahar, Peishere, Ghizni, Gaur, Sigistan, and Korâsun; a tract not less than 650 British miles in length, from east to west. This formidable kingdom was founded between fifty and sixty years since, by Ahmed Khaun Abdalla. In the confusion which followed the murder of Nadir Shâh, availing himself of the distracted state of Persia and Hindostan, he assumed the chuttur, or ensign of royalty, under the name of Admed Shâh; dismembering both these empires of some of their fairest provinces. Ahmed Shâh invaded India no less than seven times; his name will long be remembered there, from the dreadful overthrow he gave the united powers of the Maratta empire, in the year 1761, on the plains of Paniput.

“He was succeeded, in the year 1773, by his son, Timmur Shâh; who assumed the title of duranni. Timmur Shâh died about the middle of the year 1792, and was succeeded by his son, Zemaun Shâh, the present monarch. Zemaun Shâh resides alternately at Kandahar and Kabul; at the former during the heats, and at the latter during the cold season.

“His

his intention to adhere firmly to the treaty of Seringapatam,* his ambassadors were negotiating with the utmost privacy at Kabul, the residence of Zemaun Shâh, to stimulate the Afghan to invade Hindostan and co-operate with him in his vast schemes of ambition.—In a letter addressed to him, in the late year, after expressing the highest respect for him, he suggests to him the adoption of one of these plans: either that his majesty should remain in his capital, and send one of his noblemen in whom he had a confidence to Delhi with an army; who, after deposing the infirm king, whose continuance on the throne he had before shewn to threaten ruin to the Mohamedan faith, should select from among the family some one properly qualified for the government: or “ if none of his majesty’s noble-
 “ men should be sufficiently in his confidence, or equal to the undertaking,
 “ and if he should be entirely at his ease with respect to his country and
 “ government, he proposed that his majesty should go in person to Delhi;
 “ and, having made the necessary arrangements there, should establish
 “ one of his confidential servants in the office of vizier and return to his
 “ own capital. The person who may be selected for the office of vizier
 “ must be a man of address and enterprise; that, remaining a year with
 “ his army at Delhi, he may be able to bring under subjection the chiefs
 “ of the neighbouring country. The second year his majesty should send
 “ from his capital a small army as a reinforcement; so that the vizier
 “ appointed by him may proceed with the chiefs of Hindostan towards the
 “ Decan. Should those infidel Bramans direct their power to that quarter,
 “ by the grace of God the hands of the heroes of the faith in this part of
 “ the world shall be raised for their chastisement. After their extirpation,
 “ it will be proper to enjoin the vizier to fix on a place of rendezvous,
 “ and there to meet the sultan, that the proper means may be adopted for
 “ the

“ His military establishment consists chiefly of horse, to the number, it is said, of 150,000. He
 “ does not hold his infantry in much esteem, employing them only to garrison his fortresses; and
 “ happily for us, his equipment of artillery is by no means respectable. His cavalry are all
 “ excellently mounted, incomparably superior to any native horse that can be brought to oppose
 “ them from Hindostan.

“ The revenues of Zemaun Shâh have not been ascertained. Those he collects from the two
 “ provinces of Kashmeer and Jamboor only, are said to amount to two or three millions sterling.

“ The inhabitants of Zemaun Shâh’s dominions are principally Mohamedans, with some
 “ natives of Hindostan, who have adopted the institution of Baba Nanuh, and are called Hatri.

“ They are remarkably intrepid and robust, living in the finest climate, and the richest country
 “ in natural productions, in the world.”—*Wood’s Review*. 37.

* Wood’s appendix. Paper. C.

1797 "the settlement of the country."—The Mysorean ambassador who was commissioned to propose these plans was to request him to make choice of one of them, and to enter into a written engagement accordingly under his hand and seal.¹—The latter proposition was approved by Zemaun Sháh, and the result will be seen in the subsequent transactions between the two monarchs.—In the mean-time, in order to have a proper idea of Tippoo's complicated project, we must attend to his negotiations with the agents of the French government.

In these we find occasion to remark the political craft of this prince in adapting his sentiments and professions to the government which he addressed.—In a letter to their representatives on the isle of France, after paying a compliment to citizen Ripaud, a marine adventurer, who was to be his agent in opening the negotiation with general Malartic, governor of the French islands, "I acknowledge," says he, "the sublimity of your constitution, and, as a proof of my sincerity, I propose to your nation and to you a treaty of alliance and fraternity which shall be indissoluble, shall be founded on republican principles of sincerity and good faith."—He then sets forth the injuries which he had suffered from the English; and, after adverting to some of the stipulations of his proposed treaty of alliance with France, he breaks out in an apostrophe expressive of his joyful feelings on the prospect of revenging them.—"Happy moment! the time is come when I can deposit in the bosom of my friends the hatred which I bear to these oppressors of the human race. If you will assist me, in a short time not an Englishman shall remain in India; you have the power and the means of effecting it, by your free negroes: with these new citizens, much dreaded by the English, joined to your troops of the line, we will purge India of these villains."—In the words that follow he alludes to the intrigues which he was carrying on at the Indian courts, and invites the French government to league with him by a presumptuous display of his influence. "The springs which I have touched have put all India in motion; my friends are ready to fall upon the English; for *every thing here rely on my discretion*: your enemies, as I have apprized you, shall be mine."—With this display of his art, he gives a proof of his caution likewise.—"Now you are apprized of my designs, delay not to inform me of your's;

¹ Translation of a paper found at Seringapatam in 1799. *asp. Asiatic Reg.* 1799. 231. ² Wood. 8.

" your's; but make no promises which you cannot perform. I have
 " retained citizen Rigaud to answer your letters, and I will give him a
 " salary worthy of the situation which he holds near my person."^a

This letter, dated the second of april, in this year, was followed by one addressed to general Mengalon,[†] which is deserving our particular regard, because it conveys to us the idea which Tippoo had of the state of Indostan, and the ground on which he expected to stand in the approaching war. " The nizam, an ally of the English, and the chief of the moguls, is very ill, and his great age leaves no prospect of his recovery. He has four children, who are disputing the right of succession: one of them, who is much attached to me, is the favourite of the chiefs and of the people, and is expected to succeed.—Jewoy Malidoo Row, one of the great Maratta chiefs, and a strenuous supporter of the English, is dead, and by a singular accident, in falling from the top of a palace. He had no children; and the disputed succession has kindled a civil war in that state. Delhi is thrown into confusion by the arrival of Zemaun Sháh, my friend, who has attacked the Marattas, and completely defeated them in that quarter. This is the act of Providence.—Heaven seems to revenge us on the Marattas.—All the princes of India have reason to complain of them. The Marattas relied on the English, who could not assist them, being fully employed in defending themselves."—This account of the embroiled situation of the Indian courts he finishes with a representation of the distresses of the English company; who were, he informs the general, attacked at the same time by Asoph ul Doula, nabob of Bengal, and the Cotiote rajah, and who had disposed all the powers on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel to take up arms against them by their tyranny.¹

Whilst Tippoo was carrying on this secret negotiation with the French agents, as an expedient to gratify the republican chiefs, he sanctioned the institution of a jacobin club at Seringapatam,[‡] under the auspices of Dompard, who commanded a corps of French troops there, the objects of which were to propagate the principles of equality, and to excite in the members of the society and others a mortal hatred of the English.²

We

[†] April 21.

[‡] May 5.

^a Tippoo's Papers, ap. Wood, Appendix, Paper B. No. 1.

¹ Wood, Appendix. B. No. 3.

² Wood, Appendix, Conclusion of B.

1797

We here find the sultan sacrificing his true interests as an absolute monarch, by sanctioning the introduction of republican principles in his dominions, to his desire of driving the English from Indostan, which operated as a ruling passion in his breast.

As his machinations did not immediately take effect, we may, in the mean-time, carry our attention to a more pleasing object of contemplation, in the wise measures adopted by the English government to strengthen its establishment in India and promote the commercial interests of its subjects, at the same time that it conciliated the good-will and attachment of the Indians.—A sufficient provision not having been made for the administration of justice at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, an act was at this time passed, importing that his majesty may erect courts of judicature in these settlements, to consist of a mayor, three aldermen, and a recorder who is to be a barrister and appointed by his majesty, invested with the powers described by the act. ||—It is incompatible with the nature of this work to give the whole of this act. But there are two articles which particularly deserve our notice, on account of the liberality and good policy which they discover. The first declares, “that the rights of fathers and masters of families, as exercised by the Hindoo and Mohamedan laws, shall be preserved to them.” The other declares “that the said courts may determine suits against the inhabitants according to the charter; but their inheritance of and succession to lands, rents, and goods, and all matters of contract between party and party, shall be determined in the same manner as would have been done in a native court, and by the usages of the defendant, where one person is a Mohamedan or Hindoo: that the said court shall make rules and orders of the same, and frame process for the execution of their judgments, sentences, or decrees, as shall be most consonant to the religion and manners of the said natives, and to the said laws and usages respectively: and that the appearance of the witnesses shall be in such manner, and their examination shall be taken in such a way, as shall be consistent with the said laws and suits; to be conducted with as much ease and as little expence as is consistent with the attainment of substantial justice.”—Such a regard to the welfare of the natives,

and

|| July 20.

¹ Asiatic Annual Register, State Papers, p. 1.

and respect to their ancient usages, if uniformly observed, must attach 1797
 them to the interests of the company, and contribute much to the peaceful
 enjoyment of its territories and its commerce.

WEST INDIES.

THE British forces in St. Domingo were vigorously attacked, this year, by 1797
 the French general Rigaud.—An account of the military and naval occur-
 rences in the West Indies having been already given in the French history,
 we need only, in order to give connexion to the narrative of events in this
 quarter, say, that, although much reduced by sickness, they firmly main-
 tained their ground against the greatly superior force of their enemy during
 the remainder of this year.*

AMERICAN STATES.

THE representatives of the states being assembled on the day appointed 1797
 for the election of a president of the congress,† and the vice-president, Mr.
 John Adams, the confidential friend of general Washington, and Mr.
 Jefferies, being proposed as candidates, a majority of three votes appeared
 in favour of the former.—This must be considered as an event very propi-
 tious to the British interests; Mr. Jefferies having shewn himself a partisan
 of France;“ and those who thought the public welfare interested in the
 preservation of peace had soon reason to congratulate themselves on
 observing the government pursuing the same pacific councils that had given
 them prosperity under the late president.

GREAT

† February 8.

* Annual Register, 92.

“ Annual Register, 1796. 208.

GREAT BRITAIN.

 1798.

 1798
 

WE had defeated the fleets of our combined enemies, and foiled them in their plan of invasion; but we had yet to frustrate their secret machinations. Disappointed in their design of sapping the foundations of that bulwark on which the British empire chiefly depends for protection by seducing our seamen from their allegiance, the French emissaries directed their attention to Ireland. That kingdom now became the field on which they practised their intrigues against our government: and it must be acknowledged that it was done with too much success. But the turbulent scenes which these gave occasion to will not be reviewed with regret by those who consider them as leading to that happy union of the British kingdoms which has since taken place, and promises to be a bond of friendship between them.

The Irish catholics had been gratified with the repeal of those penal statutes which had been enacted against them in ages of persecution, and they had been admitted to a community of commercial privileges with the English. But while they acknowledged the pope's supremacy, whose power or influence among them might interfere with the allegiance which they owed to their natural sovereign, it was deemed unsafe to admit them to state appointments or a seat in the legislature for these obvious reasons, because the great majority which they formed would have given them the whole power of the state; and the protestants, who do not constitute above
a third

a third part of the inhabitants, and whom, from the time of the reformation, they had considered as intruders on their rights and property, would have been completely at their mercy.—These reasons could not but be received as valid by men of dispassionate minds; who were actuated by a regard for the public welfare and were desirous to maintain the present establishment: but they were rejected by the roman catholics: they were the very circumstances which sharpened their desire of emancipation.*

The genius of the present times was, moreover, favourable to their views; when a spirit of innovation had gone forth, under the mask of reform, which threatened the subversion of all ancient governments, and prided itself on rejecting the principles on which these had acted. Experience had not yet sufficiently convinced men that excessive tyranny might be practised under the specious shew of freedom, and the enticing form of republican government; and an enthusiastic fondness for liberty stimulated them to aspire to the enjoyment of it in a degree that was incompatible with civil subordination.—As a further stimulus to the efforts of the papists we may add the present embarrassed state of public affairs; when government, it was imagined, would gladly conciliate the attachment of so powerful a description of its subjects by a compliance with their demands.

The most formidable of the plans of subversion laid by them against the British government was that concerted by the confederacy of *united Irishmen*.—A reform in parliament, and the admission of roman catholics to a participation of civil immunities with the protestants, were the pretext which at first covered their proceedings. But their secret designs were soon developed: and it was clearly evinced by a report of the committee of secrecy in Ireland, that their real objects were to separate Ireland from
Great

* "As to the papists," says Blackstone, "after speaking of the toleration practised by the state towards protestants, "what has been said of the protestant dissenters would hold equally strong for a general toleration of them: provided their separation was founded only upon difference of opinion in religion, and their principles did not also extend to a subversion of the civil government. If once they could be brought to renounce the supremacy of the pope, they might quietly enjoy their seven sacraments, their purgatory, and auricular confession; their worship of relics and images; nay even their transubstantiation. But while they acknowledge a foreign power, superior to the sovereignty of the kingdom, they cannot complain if the laws of that kingdom will not treat them upon the footing of good subjects."—*Blackstone's Commentaries*. 4. 55.

1798 } Great Britain, to overturn the present constitution, and to establish a democratic republic in this country.

With a view to the accomplishment of these, seditious publications were dispersed, instigating the Irish papists to demand an equal representation of all the people of Ireland, in hopes that government, by rejecting such a demand, would afford the malecontent leaders the means of raising a rebellion.—It was evinced, also, that military preparations were made throughout the kingdom; that the members of the confederacy in every part were taught the use of arms; that a vast quantity of arms of various kinds were provided; that resistance was made to the ordinary judicial proceedings; and that outrages were committed against those who presumed to avow their loyalty by pillaging their houses, destroying their corn and houghing their cattle; that, at the same time, that every expedient was adopted for embarrassing government, a large fund was formed by subscription for effecting the purposes of the confederacy; that a treasonable correspondence had been opened with France so early as the year 1796 by the intervention of Arthur O'Connor and lord Edward Fitzgerald;^a that a statement of the situation of this country, supposed to be the work of Theobald Wolfe Tone and Hamilton Rowan, had been transmitted to France; that the French government had engaged to send a force to this country; which was accepted, on the part of the confederacy, by M'Nevin, their agent; and that the attempt for an invasion in the late autumn was the result of this correspondence.^{b*}—These facts were proved by the evidence of doctor M'Nevin, Arthur O'Connor, and other leaders of the union. And, on the same testimony, it was evinced that an insurrection was planned in April 1797.^c—This desperate step was, however, prevented by a proclamation issued by lord

^a Ann. Regist. 157.

^b State Papers. 159. in Ann. Regist.

^c Idem. 163. 6. 7. 8.

* Mr. Bisset, speaking of the machinations of the French government in Ireland, says, "that they dispatched one Jackson, a native of Ireland, and a protestant clergyman, but now an emissary of France, as a spy, to Britain and to Ireland, in order to sound the dispositions of the people. Jackson, in Ireland, formed a connexion with Wolfe Tone, Hamilton Rowan, and some of their associates, and proposed a plan of insurrection, in order to facilitate a French invasion. In England, Jackson had trusted his treasonable schemes to an intimate friend, one Cockayne, an attorney. This person communicated the projects to Mr. Pitt; and undertook to accompany his friend to Ireland, in order further to discover his intentions and plots to government, from which he was to receive the sum of £.300, if through his means, the capital conviction of his friend should ensue. Cockayne being thus engaged to accompany his friend to Ireland,

lord Camden, as lord lieutenant, † offering pardon to such as should merit it by submission and a promise of obedience, and empowering the commanders of his majesty's troops to repress the insurgents by military force.^d 1798

Whoever can conceive the image of a country rent by faction, threatened with a rebellion of its own people and an invasion from a foreign enemy, ravaged by a desperate banditti who committed every kind of enormity in the prosecution of their revolutionary plans, and distressed by the dreadful consequences of martial law adopted by the government to repress the insurgents, will have some idea of the state of Ireland at this period.—As an expedient for its relief, an attempt was made by the whig party in parliament for the removal of the plausible plea whereby the malecontents sanctioned their violent proceedings, by moving for a parliamentary reform. But this motion was rejected by a great majority upon the grounds of the danger which would attend the measure at so turbulent a period.^e

Happily, other events occurred which served, in some degree, to dispel the gloom with which the kingdom was overcast.—One of these was the signal victory obtained by admiral Duncan over the Dutch fleet in the late autumn.—Another was the jealousy which the *united Irishmen* began already to entertain of the designs of the French government against their independency. When they saw how the Dutch provinces were oppressed, which had been subjected to that state under the fair shew of an alliance, and how the crown of Spain was rendered subservient to their dictates, they conceived suspicions that, under pretence of assisting them in the establishment of a republic in Ireland, they meant to subject them to their dominion, or, at least, to their absolute control. And these were confirmed

“ Ireland, and pretending to participate in the plot, was introduced to Rowan and other conspirators. A plan was formed for concerting a French invasion of Ireland: Jackson wrote several letters to correspondents abroad, explaining the state of Ireland, and the outlines of the project. The letters being sent to the post-office, Cockayne, who had perused them all, gave information to government: the letters were seized; Jackson was tried; Cockayne was the sole oral evidence; but the papers coinciding with his testimony, rendered the case so clear, that the jury without hesitation found the defendant guilty. Jackson was condemned to die; but by suicide anticipated execution.”—*Bisset's History of George the Third*. 6. 204.

† March 30.

^d State Papers. 164. Ann. Regist. 159.

^e Ann. Regist. 159.

1798 confirmed when, instead of 10,000 auxiliaries, which they requested, the French government insisted on the necessity of sending an army of 50,000 men into this country.^f—Men of reflection were convinced that conquest was the object of that tyrannizing power; and that the confederates were intended to be the instruments for accomplishing its ambitious scheme; which was to lead either to a conquest of Great Britain, or its reduction to the same reproachful state of humiliation to which other powers had suffered themselves to be degraded.

Possessed with these mistrusts and weary of expecting the promised aid, the confederates now became more daringly tumultuous,[†] and spread terror before them by the cruelties practised towards the loyalists.

Conciliatory measures were, in the mean-time, brought forward by lord Moira in the house of peers. That nobleman, after deploring the outrages committed on his countrymen in the execution of martial law, recommended a parliamentary reform as the most rational and effectual means of restoring national tranquillity.—He was answered by lord Glentworth and the lord chancellor; who opposed to his arguments and his advice, that conciliatory expedients had been already tried, and gave it as their opinion that nothing but force could subdue the daring spirit of revolt which had manifested itself among the confederates.—The result was, that the motion was rejected. And the conduct of government was justified by a formal resolution entered into, at this instant, by the confederates “to pay no attention to any offers from either house of parliament, and that nothing should be deemed satisfactory but a total emancipation of their country.”[‡]

The kingdom now exhibited a horrid scene of intestine disorder and tumult.—The confederates being betrayed by Reynolds, one of their members, fourteen of their ringleaders were ordered to be arrested; and lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was of the number, was mortally wounded in a fray with the persons sent to apprehend him.

A plot laid by them for taking by surprise in one night the camp, the artillery, and the castle of Dublin, was frustrated by a timely discovery: and their plans were disconcerted by the arrest of those chiefs on whose conduct

[†] In March.

^f Ann. Regist. 160.

[‡] Idem. 162.

duct they relied. But they persevered in their designs, though deprived of their leaders, and ill-provided for hostilities, apparently rather from desperation than from any well-founded hopes of success.—They rose in arms in different parts of the kingdom. And, although they were defeated in several rencounters, yet their behaviour proved that they were not a contemptible adversary.—They laid siege to Wexford: and, after defeating the garrison in an engagement near its walls, they made themselves master of the place. || 1798

The formidable aspect which they assumed, and the courage which they displayed in several subsequent actions with the royalists, convinced the government that the most speedy and vigorous operations were necessary to suppress them.—Alarmed at the progress which they were making in the province of Munster, where the roman catholics prevail, the lord lieutenant dispatched general Lake with a strong body of forces against them. That officer, attacking them in their principal station near Enniscorthy,† after a severe conflict, gained a complete victory over them. They fled on all sides. The insurgents in Wexford surrendered in consequence of it.^b And the rebels, except those banditti who chose to live by plunder rather than by industry, availed themselves of the general pardon offered to such as returned to their allegiance to retire quietly to their own homes.

A similar event attended a revolt which took place at the same time in the northern counties of Down and Antrim; the insurgents being defeated by a body of troops sent against them in a hard fought battle at Ballinahinch. ‡

The perilous state of this kingdom recommending the appointment of a person well acquainted with military affairs to the station of lord lieutenant, that honour was conferred on lord Cornwallis. || And that he might carry the olive branch in one hand while he bore the sword in the other, he was commissioned to offer a general pardon to all who submitted; with the exception of very few of the most notorious rebels.

The expediency of this measure was soon evinced.—Before the minds of men were recovered from the agitation into which they were thrown by the rebellion

May 30.

† June 21.

‡ June 12.

|| June 13.

^b Annual Register. 162. 64.

1798 rebellion in Munster and Ulster, their attention was called to another quarter by an affair of a very alarming nature in the province of Connaught.

The agents of the Irish rebels at Paris, self-deluded by their own passions, and deceived by the representations of their partisans in Ireland, had persuaded the directory that the Irish nation were ripe for revolt, and that, if a French force should appear off the coast, the flames of rebellion would instantly burst forth.—In this persuasion expeditions had been repeatedly planned, which had been frustrated by the vigilance and good conduct of our naval commanders.

The French government could not spare so large a force as would be required to accomplish their design of reducing Ireland under the dominion of their republic, whilst they were carrying on war in so many different quarters; yet it was thought advisable to cherish a spirit of rebellion in this country, and to cause a diversion of the British forces in favour of the French armies employed in other parts, by sending a body of troops to the aid of the insurgents. This, if successful, was to prepare the way for a more important enterprise, as soon as the state of affairs on the continent should admit of it.¹

In the prosecution of this plan, general Humbert was sent with about 1500 men on board three frigates, to make a descent in the north of Ireland.*—That officer, appearing in the bay of Killala under English colours, easily effected a landing, having repulsed a small body of men, who were hastily assembled to oppose them. † ** The bishop's palace, to which the fensibles and

† August. 22.

¹ Sir Richard Musgrave's Hist. of the Rebellion. 389.

* The French officers gave the following account of the expedition:—"that about eighteen days before, 1500 men, some of whom had served under Buonaparte in Italy, the rest had been of the army of the Rhine, embarked on board three frigates at Rochelle, and on a very dark night eluded (beyond their expectation) the vigilance of the English fleet, which was close behind them. Two of them had 44 guns, eighteen pounders; the other 38 guns, twelve pounders. They said also, that they brought nine pieces of cannon, and arms for 100,000 men; but this was a French gasconade, as they had arms only for five thousand five hundred men, and but two four-pounders. The meagre persons, and the wan and sallow countenances of these troops, whose numbers did not exceed one thousand and sixty rank and file, and seventy officers, strongly indicated the severe hardships which they must have undergone."—*Musgrave's Hist. of the Rebellion.* 389. &c.

** The false colours enabled the French commander to take the town of Killala by surprise. So completely were the inhabitants deceived by them that "messieurs Edwin and Arthur Stock, the bishop's sons, and Mr. I. Rutledy's, the port surveyor, were tempted to visit them; and were not undeceived till they were made prisoners."—*Sir R. Musgrave's Hist. of the Irish Rebel.*

and yeomen retired after their repulse, being incapable of defence against such a force as the enemy brought, provided with several pieces of artillery, Humbert took possession of it; assuring the bishop, on his appearing in the court-yard, "that he came to give them liberty, and free them from the "English yoke."—Then, hoisting a green flag in the front of the palace, with the Irish words "Erin go bragh," *Ireland for ever*, inscribed on it, he invited the people to join his standard, as the means of acquiring freedom and happiness: he assured them that the object of his expedition was to rescue them from tyranny; to give them a free constitution under the protection of France: and, in order to conciliate the support of all descriptions of persons, he said that no one should be persecuted for his religious opinions.^k

1798

The incidents attending this enterprise prove how difficult it is to reconcile the interests of several descriptions of people, who are leagued in any villanous design.—The object of France was to conquer and subjugate Ireland; and, for the accomplishment of it, it was deemed necessary to secure the support of the protestants as well as papists.—The Irish catholics, on the other hand, were desirous not only to disengage themselves from the dominion of England, but to exterminate the protestants; without which they despaired of attaining their ultimate views, in a complete restoration of the catholic interests in this kingdom. These were dissatisfied on perceiving the lukewarmness of their allies with respect to religion: and the French general was disappointed on finding that his specious profession had not the desired effect of bringing the protestants to his standard.^l—Thus inauspiciously did the enterprise commence.

The military events which distinguished it were not of memorable importance.—Humbert, leaving colonel Charost to guard the palace of Killala, advanced with all possible dispatch to Castlebar.^m Where, being reinforced, with above 3000 rebels, he repulsed a body of forces brought against him by general Lake. ‡—Their triumph on this victory, which was attended with considerable loss of men and artillery to the royalists, was however, of short continuance. On the approach of an army under lord Cornwallis, finding himself greatly outnumbered, Humbert embarked precipitately for France.

The

‡ August 28.

^k Musgrave's History. 420. &c.^l Idem.^m Killala Narrative.

1798

The good effects resulting from the activity of the Irish government in this affair were rendered more complete by a subsequent event at sea. Admiral sir J. Borlase Warren, falling in with a French squadron, consisting of one ship of the line and eight frigates, freighted with troops and stores for Ireland, captured the *hoche* man of war, and several frigates; and the remainder, except two, eventually fell into the hands of the English.—Such was the termination of an invasion which appears evidently to have originated in the erroneous representations made to the French government respecting the *general* disposition of the Irish nation. The rebellious disposition of a part of the people was misrepresented as a general disaffection. And the French government vainly flattered themselves that disaffection to the English government would induce them to throw themselves under the dominion, or, as it was speciously called, the protection of France.

If the intestine troubles in Ireland, if the base desertion of the coalition by Prussia, and the constrained submission of Holland, Spain, Sardinia and the emperor, if a threatened invasion from an enemy who had triumphed over the other neighbouring powers and was now left to contend with us unprotected by allies, were not causes of dismay, they, at least, offered the most forcible reasons for every exertion of the state and nation to prepare for defence. Accordingly we find that the providing supplies adequate to the vast expenditure of the government was the minister's first object on the meeting of parliament in the autumn; and that the sum total of ways and means devised by him amounted to £33,980,672.

The attention of the house was then directed to the measures proposed for the national defence, and for giving the greatest effect to that zeal with which various descriptions of men discovered their disposition to support the royal standard in this hour of extreme danger.—An act was passed to enable such as had been drafted for the supplemental militia, raised by virtue of an act of the last session, to enlist into the regular army, without being liable to be reclaimed.—This was followed by an act to enable his majesty to provide more effectually for the security and defence of the realm, and to indemnify persons who might suffer in their property by such measures as might be thought necessary for that purpose. The object of this

▪ Annual Register. 165.

this measure was to enable government, by a parochial array, to inform itself of the strength which, in case of emergency, it was capable of exerting, and to prepare for the most advantageous application of it.—A third measure for the national security was the suspension of the habeas corpus; which was adopted on the grounds of the encouragement given to our enemy by the traitorous correspondence of disaffected individuals and societies.*

1798

The appearances of disaffection in these persons, who, under various pretences, were concerting the means of accomplishing their designs against the state, was, happily, contrasted by the loyalty of others.—Of this we have an eminent example in the merchants and other inhabitants of Liverpool: who, unwilling to throw the burthen of guarding their port on the state, generously requested that they might be permitted to erect batteries, fit out gun-boats, and prepare any other means of defence that might be deemed necessary, at their own expence. This proposal was gladly acceded to; and the sense which his majesty and the government entertained of their loyal and patriotic behaviour was expressed by the premier.^p

Alarming accounts being, in the mean-time, received of the state of Ireland, some very animated debates ensued on the affairs of that kingdom. The mutinous disposition which had manifested itself among them was assigned by the ministers as the reasons for strong coercive measures: it was asserted by lord Grenville that a plan had been discovered for separating Ireland from Great Britain; which appeared to have been suggested by France.—On the other hand, the extreme distress of the nation and the hardships which they endured were painted in glowing colours by lord Moira and others who had been eye-witnesses of their miseries. Unfortunately, their grievances were such as originated in the very nature of a subordinate kingdom and other causes which it will be found difficult to remedy—such as the oppression practised by the deputies of absentee proprietors, a want of attention to improvements in the landed property and the system of leasing it, a want of capital, for the establishment of manufactures, a consequent want of industry in the people, which renders them excessively indigent and disposes them to embrace the desperate expedients

* Ann. Regist. 216. 21.

^p Idem. 228.^q Idem. 224.

1798 } expedients of marauding, robbery, or revolt, for relieving their necessities or procuring that melioration of their condition which appeared to be disregarded by their superiors.—These are evils which then only will be remedied, when wise and patriotic individuals shall, under the auspices of the state, introduce practices which are the reverse of those which have given rise to them, and shall invigorate the nation, and dispose them to industrious exertions, by shewing them that they are objects of their regard, and by employing their wealth in promoting their prosperity. These, however, are remedies of gradual effect.—In the mean-time, the present safety of that kingdom was to be provided for. The opposition in both houses recommended a change of system, and the adoption of lenient instead of coercive measures. The ministry, on the contrary, without controverting the general expediency of such a system, insisted on the danger which must attend the adopting it at this crisis.—Agreeably with the sentiments of government on this subject, on a tender from several regiments of militia of their services, to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces in Ireland, it was proposed virtually to enable his majesty to accept these offers, by empowering him “to take all such measures as might be necessary, to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigencies of his affairs might require.”—After warm debates, an address of approbation was carried by great majorities in both houses. ||

The period which intervened between the two sessions of this year was distinguished by events which cheered the spirits of the nation, and enabled his majesty to greet his parliament, on its reassembling in the autumn, † with information of the most grateful nature.* The suppression of the revolt in Ireland, the detection of the machinations of those who had conspired with our enemies for the subversion of the established government, the memorable victory obtained by admiral Nelson near the mouths of the Nile,† whereby the projected invasion was completely frustrated, and the effects of this glorious achievement in encouraging Austria to renew the war, and Russia and the Porte to unite with us in opposing the progress of the French arms, afforded agreeable subjects of contemplation.—Testimonies of loyalty were seen in the addresses on his majesty’s speech

correspondent

|| June 12.

† November 20.

* Ann. Regist. 226.

† Idem. 161.

‡ See France.

correspondent with what had been before manifested in the readiness 1798
 with which his subjects had associated for the national defence. And notwithstanding the public burthens were great beyond example, yet men acquiesced in them with patience when they received a compensation for the comforts which they were obliged to deny themselves in the honour of the British arms and the security of the kingdom.—Conscious of his parliamentary weight, and persuaded of the expediency of making every practicable exertion towards raising a revenue adequate to the public expenditure, rather than distress posterity by a larger addition to the national debt, the minister came boldly forward with a proposal for a tax on income, to take place of the triple assessment. This measure was strenuously opposed, particularly on account of the prejudicial effects which it would have on trade by the disclosure of the circumstances of mercantile men. But these and other reasons for rejecting it were outweighed by a conviction of its general expediency; and an act for that purpose was passed in the ensuing year.*

The British ministers on the continent, in the mean-time, were employed in negotiations to revive the coalition; and part of the ample supplies which this financial effort was to produce was directed to the accomplishment of that purpose.—The death of Frederic William, who had ruined the allied cause by his desertion of it, afforded our government hopes that Prussia might be brought to rejoin the confederacy. A change of councils in the court of Petersburg was propitious to their views. The premier, immediately availed himself of its disposition to warlike measures, to set on foot a negotiation for an offensive alliance with the emperor, the result of which will be seen in the ensuing year.

FRANCE,

* Ann. Regist. 1799. 187.

FRANCE, HOLLAND, ITALY, AND SWITZERLAND.

1798

AMIDST the civil feuds which distracted the French government, their warlike operations were not relaxed, nor the intrigues of its agents in every part of Europe intermitted.—Every power which had confederated against France, except Great Britain, had either been seduced from the common cause by the lure of self-interest or intimidated by the fear of its vengeance, or had been subdued by force of arms. But the arduous task still remained of undermining the British constitution, or forcing its government to become subservient to the ambitious views of the French republic, or, more properly speaking, of the faction which now predominated in it.—We have seen the plots formed to seduce the Irish nation from their allegiance and raise a revolt in that country, which was to have been supported by a powerful invasion, and we have had occasion to rejoice in the unsuccessful issue of it.

In the mean-time, as a foundation for every other measure to distress Great Britain, the inventive genius of the French nation was employed in fabricating falsehoods to asperse the English ministry, and exasperate the people against them. With that view a letter was forged, supposed to be written by lord Malmsbury, acknowledging that he had no real intentions to conclude a treaty with France by his late negotiations, and that he considered this kingdom as on the point of a counter-revolution, which would render a treaty unnecessary.—When the public mind was thus prepared for other aspersions, a violent proclamation was published, charging the British government with being the authors of all the calamities consequent on the war. And this was followed by a representation in the same strain of virulence, portraying Great Britain as a power which was endeavouring to usurp the dominion of the seas, to engross the commerce of the whole world; which was ready to sacrifice every consideration of justice, humanity, and honour, to the gratification of that passion; and which had made the most strenuous efforts to render the powers of Europe subservient to its views of bringing ruin on the French state and nation.*—

The

* Annual Register. 40.

The passions of men being inflamed to the highest pitch by these representations, the state whose existence they deemed incompatible with the peace and welfare of France was devoted to destruction.—*Delenda est Carthago* was the sentiment resounded through France: an invasion of England was projected: vast preparations were made for that purpose: the treasures of London were held out as the certain reward of French valour.—By these means, either the French nation were prepared to be sacrificed, as the instruments of vengeance, in an attempt to carry this vain threat into execution, or the secret purposes of the directory were to be answered in forwarding the present business of raising supplies for carrying on the war in other quarters; and, in particular, in facilitating a negotiation now on foot for the loan of 40,000,000 livres.^b 1798

Those who dispassionately contemplated the state of Great Britain at this period, the character of the people, and their rivalry, bordering on national antipathy, towards the French, who reflected on the influence which the oppressive conduct of France towards the nations already subjugated must have in opening the eyes of others, and who considered the superiority of the British navy and the self-confidence which their late victories had added to the natural bravery of their seamen, could have entertained but little hopes of success from an expedition against that country. But the body of the French people were not of that description. And when we consider the uninterrupted success of the French arms in Italy, and the sanguine temper of the nation, we cannot be surprised that they should readily have become the dupes of their own passions and the policy of their rulers: that they should have thought with confidence of the practicability of such an enterprise: that, before they had really shaken off their fetters, when, with a shew of liberty, they were effectually under the arbitrary rule of an oligarchy, they should have heard with avidity the harangues of those who persuaded them that they were to restore the British nations to their rights and teach them to be free.

Whether the administrators of the French government had, in their enthusiastic passion for dominion, really conceived a design of conquering Great Britain, does not appear to be clearly proved.—If they had, the difficulties which presented themselves deterred them from the attempt, or suggested

^b Annual Register. 41.

1798 suggested the expediency of preparing the way for the execution of this grand enterprise, which was to consummate their scheme of establishing a paramount power in Europe, by such as were of a more practicable nature.—The first of these was the reduction of Switzerland.

It must appear extraordinary that a people of a martial character, who had ever been as much honoured for the firm stand which they had made in the maintenance of their liberties, as they were admired for their industry, their simplicity of manners, and their patriotism, and who had, for ages, received the reward of their virtues in the peaceful enjoyment of their small possessions, should have become so easy a prey to the marauding government of France.

There is no instance on record of a conquest having been effected, or a revolution brought about in a country where the population was numerous and the people brave and warlike, without some predisposing causes in the state or nation itself.—The French revolution has been attributed to the doctrines propagated by the encyclopedists and the intrigues of the free-masons and *illuminati*. And that these were desirous of a revolution, that many of them were actively concerned in machinations to undermine the altar and new-model the government, is generally believed. But not all the wit of Voltaire, nor the subtilty and profound understanding of d'Alembert, could have accomplished their purpose, could have persuaded the French nation that their parliaments had been exiled for daring to maintain their national rights, that a system of tyranny was established in consequence of it, that they were oppressed with taxes unequally imposed to provide for the minions of the court, or that they were starving, whilst the farmers of the revenue and others who lived on the plunder of the public were rolling in abundance, if these things had not happened, and the people had felt themselves easy and happy. Discontent, arising from the feelings of misery and oppression in the French nation was the predisposing cause which gave effect to the reasonings of the encyclopedists, the artifices of the revolutionists, and the representations of the French troops who had assisted in supporting the revolted Americans.—The disaffection which the emperor Joseph's innovating rage and fondness for power had given occasion to was, in like manner, the predisposing cause of the revolt in the Austrian Netherlands, and their subsequent conquest by France.—The violent

violent party-feuds which prevailed in the Dutch provinces enabled the French to overrun and subjugate the Dutch provinces.—And the jealousy and disunion which began to prevail among the Swiss, the relaxation of moral principle among the people, the corruption of the superior orders, some of whom were the stipendiaries of France, and the loss^c of those ardent, patriotic feelings which had united their ancestors among themselves, and attached them firmly to their country and their constitutions, opened a door to the emissaries from France in this country, who insinuated themselves into the confidence of those who were desirous to reform the abuses which had crept into the several governments, or to model them in a manner more agreeable with the democratic principles which they had imbibed.—The Swiss, who in former ages had thought only of cultivating their fields and vineyards, and enjoying the fruits of their industry in peace, now became a nation of politicians. The literary societies, which had before been established in every part of Switzerland, were the rendezvous of political disputants.—Captivated with visionary projects of freedom, they joined in the popular cry of *liberty and equality*; assuming the popular appellations of *friends of Rousseau* or the *society of William Tell*; and thus they became the ready instruments of the French agents who were employed to excite a spirit of dissension and revolt among them.^d

So early as the year 1791, the democrats in the Pais de Vaud, not content with professing themselves proselytes to what were denominated French principles, testified their warm approbation of the French revolution by a public celebration of the anniversary of its accomplishment. The beautiful country on the Lemane Lake, once the blissful seat of every domestic and social enjoyment, now became a scene of faction and cabal. The Swiss, in their zeal for democracy, seemed to forget the many instances of ill treatment which their countrymen, the Swiss guards and other troops of their nation, had experienced for their fidelity in the progress of the revolution; which was at last completed by the massacre at the *thuileries*.^e And several men of distinguished character among them carried on a correspondence with Clavieres, an intriguing Genevese, who was for a short time in the French ministry, and concerted with his associates the means of effecting a change in their constitution.^f

When

^c Planta. 2. 374.

^d Wood. 309. Planta. 2. 371.

^e Planta. 2. 375. 7.

^f Idem. 379.

1798

When a government uniformly administers justice with impartiality, and in the general tenour of its actions shews that the national welfare is the standard of its conduct, no man of sense who is well affected to the state will complain of the necessary strictness of its discipline. On the contrary, where unaccustomed severity appears to proceed from party spirit, it often betrays weakness, and always irritates those whom it is intended to restrain.—This observation is applicable to the present affairs of the Swiss cantons.—The supreme council of Berne, which had before encouraged the factions by a want of energy, unanimity, and decision in their councils, at the same time that they had given occasion to censure and discontent among the people by the partial and self-interested motives discoverable in their proceedings,^a now, at length, began to act with vigour, when they were roused from their lethargy by a sense of impending danger.

On information of the intrigues which the revolutionists were carrying on in the Pays de Vaud, the favourite resort of the French emigrants, for the accomplishment of the object which they had now in view, of disengaging the inhabitants of that district from the sovereignty of Berne,^b they dispatched a special commissioner, accompanied with 2000 troops, into it, to inflict punishment on the delinquents and to awe the disaffected.—When they opened their commission at Rolle, on the lake of Geneva, it appeared, however, that the people were not disposed to give information against offenders. Two citizens, of the society of *amis de Rousseau*, and three ecclesiastics who had disgraced themselves and their profession by becoming incendiaries, were committed to prison: and Amadeus la Harpe, who afterwards signalized himself in the French army in Italy, having made his escape, was sentenced to die, should he return to Switzerland.^c Sensible, moreover, of the danger which threatened the public peace from the political clubs, the governments of Berne, Friburg, Soleure, Lucerne, and other cantons, issued orders for the suppression of all societies not authorized by the state.^d

These governments were however, destined to be convinced, by dear-bought experience, of the extreme difficulty of remedying evils which originate in public opinion.—The minds of the people were possessed with the mania of innovation and the Utopian schemes of liberty and equality

^a Planta. 374.^b *Idem*. 373.^c Wood. 317.^d *Idem*. 318.

equality which prevailed at this period: and their dissatisfaction with the established governments was increased by the means employed to repress dissension. The advocates of reform, being forbidden to meet in public places of resort, assembled in private houses. And at Basle, where a society of professed *revolutionists* had been established, a regular correspondence was opened with the national assembly of France.¹ 1798

Such was the disunited and agitated state of Switzerland when the war broke out between France and the two great German powers.—Had the cantons been united among themselves, and had they warmly and unanimously espoused the cause of the coalition, such an accession of strength might have turned the scale in favour of the confederates, and have averted the ruin and disgrace which awaited this once prosperous country. On the contrary, the want of harmony, which was the baneful origin of all their own evils, deprived the coalition of a most useful ally.

Had not the Swiss been obstinately blind, or disabled from acting with becoming spirit by distraction, the fate of Geneva would have operated as an admonition to them.—Agreeably with the general maxims of the French government, of disuniting in order to subjugate, they had insinuated themselves into the favour of some leading men in the Genevese councils; and, by means, of their faction, they procured the admission of a body of troops into the city, and rendered the state completely subservient to France.² But neither the approximation of danger, nor the opportunity which this event afforded them of observing the fatal consequences of endeavouring to soften an overbearing adversary by tame submission, had any influence on the policy of the Swiss.—The Helvetic diet, assembled at Arau in 1792, declared, that they would adhere to a strict neutrality between the contending parties.—In the ensuing year their alliance was earnestly solicited by the confederates. But, being threatened with fire and sword by the prevailing faction in the French government, when they had it in their power to have signalized themselves, and to have preserved their independency, by a spirited resistance to the tyranny of France, they vainly endeavoured to merit the friendship of that domineering state by submissively repeating their assurance of neutrality.³ Having used these means to ingratiate themselves with the monster, we shall find them, in the event,

¹ Wood. 320.

² See 1792.

³ Planta. 2. 378. 84.

1798 event, obtaining the boon which they might reasonably have expected as a testimony of his favour, in being the last morsel to be devoured by him.

In the mean-time, the French government, being interested in preserving the neutrality of Switzerland during its hostilities with a powerful confederacy and the insurrections of the royalists in the Vendée and the southern provinces, condescended to treat the Swiss as friends: and we find the cantons still meriting its friendship by acts of courtesy, as well as a strict adherence to their engagements. When the apostate Frederic William of Prussia was prevailed on to desert his allies,* Basle was the place chosen for the conferences of the Prussian and French ambassadors.—In the campaign of 1796, when Moreau was making his celebrated retreat, a part of his forces were suffered to pass through the Swiss territories, and were supplied with necessaries on their route.—During the subsequent sieges of Kehl and the Tête de Pont, the Swiss drew a cordon along their frontier. And when, notwithstanding this precaution, the Austrian troops made irruptions on the Swiss territories; the cantons, on complaint from Barthélemy, the French ambassador, punished their officers who were charged with corruption.—In 1797 they suffered Buonaparte arbitrarily to annex the Valteline, a territory belonging to their Grison allies, to the Cisalpine republic, without opposition or remonstrance. And when that general passed through Switzerland, on his return from Italy, he was received at Berne with the highest honours; which he repaid with disdainful neglect.†

The general was justified by reasons of state in the indulgence of his natural coldness and reserve. The French arms had been triumphant in every quarter; but it was with extreme difficulty that the government could find pecuniary resources. There being no longer the same reason for practising forbearance towards the Swiss, therefore, the directory, instigated by a faction in Switzerland who were violently inimical to the established government, determined upon a breach with them, as an expedient for providing supplies for carrying on the war, and for establishing a system of government in the cantons more favourable to that ascendancy which they meant to usurp.—As a preparatory to the accomplishment of this object, Mengaud, a warm republican, was sent to fill the station of French

* See 1794.

† Planta. 2. 386. 94.

French minister at Berne. And that ambassador, in the spirit of his sovereigns, invited the Swiss to revolt, by promising the support of the great nation to all who *might think themselves* injured by their government.[†]

1798

To justify the meditated revolt of the Vaudois, a work was published entitled *Essai sur la Constitution du Pays de Vaud*, the materials of which were provided by la Harpe,* in which he stated, "that this country had, while in the hands of the dukes of Savoy, possessed, among other privileges, that of an annual assembly of the states, consisting of the dignified clergy, the nobles, and the chief magistrates of fourteen towns," and he called on his countrymen to assert their right; to demand a convocation of the states; and, if refused, to claim the guarantee of the French republic; which might, with specious colours, espouse their cause, by virtue of the late conquest of Savoy.—Thus we find the French republic, which had in its revolutionary rage trampled on forms, treaties, and ancient institutions, with an inconsistency not uncommon in the political world, availing itself of an obsolete claim to justify their design on the independency of the Swiss cantons.

As a further and more plausible ground of hostilities, whilst the directory declared themselves the protectors of those Vaudois who should claim this right, they proclaimed to the world the insults which France had sustained from the Swiss, such as they could no longer suffer to pass unrevenged. They asserted "that the Swiss had, during the war, made most usurious profits of their commercial intercourse with France; that not only their illicit traffic with assignats, but also their abundant fabrication of them, had greatly contributed to depreciate their value, and had, in fact, materially injured the credit of the French nation: they complained of the toleration of the emigrant priests and royalists; of the countenance given to a contraband trade, chiefly of English goods; and the suffering a British minister to reside in their country, who, it was pretended, by

"underhand

* This was Cæsar Frederic la Harpe, of Rolle, who was preceptor to the grandson of the empress Catharine, till the apprehension of the contagion of French principles induced that princess to dismiss a person from her service who was known to entertain opinions very inimical to despotism. After that, according to Mr. Planta, "being refused admission into the canton of Berne, he took up his residence on the contiguous territory of Geneva, and from thence organized the insurrections which ended in the subjugation of his country."—*Planta's Switzerland*. 2. 380.

† Planta. 2. 396.

Idem. 398.

1798

“underhand practices, and enormous subornations, fomented sedition and encouraged levies against the French republic; of the persecuting the friends of liberty, and at all times displaying an aversion to the revolutionary principles espoused by a people who proudly assumed the name of *the great nation*; and of their having suffered the Austrians to pass the cordon at Huningen.”—Such were the most material charges suggested by the presumption which prosperous fortune inspired.—In vain did Haller, a statesman of eminent talents, vindicate the conduct of his countrymen; in vain did he positively deny the charge respecting the assignats, and prove that nothing was practised respecting trade which could have been discontinued without mutual disadvantage: in vain did he claim merit for his countrymen for their ready, their obsequious attention to every requisition made by the French minister respecting the residence of emigrants in the cantons, and the alleged intrigues of the British envoy; in proof of which he adduced the satisfaction expressed by monsieur Barthélemy on the occasion. The directory were deaf to these vindications; and, that the Vaudois might proceed with confidence in their revolt, they ordered Massena, at the close of the late year, to advance with a division of the army of Italy to the confines of the Pays de Vaud.

The fact, when stripped of its specious colours, appears to have been, that the French directory, although they had subdued all the powers which had leagued against France, except Great Britain, and Buonaparte, had added the German emperor to the monarchs whom he had chained to his triumphal car; were apprehensive that a sense of common danger might, some day, rouse them again to arms; might awaken them from that delirium which had rendered them insensible to all the feelings of honour and patriotism which ought to be the ruling principle of sovereign princes, and determine them, at last, to pursue their true interests, by a firm and united resistance to a power which had shewn itself as hostile to that liberty and independency which it pretended to patronise, as it was to the ancient establishments against which it had declared war: that they were apprehensive the Swiss might, in that case, join the confederacy: that they reflected on the signal advantage which would be derived, either to themselves or their enemies, from the possession of a country which had ever been

* Planta. 2. 393.

* Idem. 399.

been considered as the citadel of Europe, replete with arms and men of martial character; and might now be made a magazine for any war that might be carried on in the neighbouring parts: and that, for these reasons, they were determined either to reduce this country under their dominion, or to render themselves masters of it in effect, and secure its resources, by establishing a government in it which should be devoted to the French interests. Under these circumstances we cannot be surprised that a government, which had shewn itself so little scrupulous with respect to the grounds of war in other instances, should have availed itself of these futile or ill-founded charges, assisted by the specious pretence of rescuing other nations from oppression, as a pretext for hostilities.

The governing powers in the cantons at length became sensible of their danger. But even now the same want of concord, which had before created a dissidence in themselves, continued to have the most pernicious effects on their affairs. And a person who contemplates the present distracted state of the cantons, who observes men of weight in them becoming the tools of French policy, and the clergy, digressing from their proper functions as teachers of benevolence and charity, and taking upon them the hateful character of incendiaries, cannot but lament that the descendants of those Swiss who had united so firmly and fought so gloriously in defence of their liberty and independency should be so degenerated.—When the enemy was at their gates, and nothing but an united and vigorous resistance could save the country from conquest or dependence, the supreme council of Berne dispatched another special commission into the Pays de Vaud to investigate the causes of the discontent, and to suggest expedients for restoring tranquillity.—The event proved the futility of the measure: Whilst the commissioners were engaged in useless investigations, the malecontents, deriving confidence from the approach of the French troops, rose in arms and possessed themselves of the castle of Chillon, in which some of their associates were imprisoned.† And this was followed by the institution of committees of safety and other revolutionary proceedings.*

In the mean-time a general diet was announced at Arau; where, notwithstanding

† January 7. 1798.

* Planta. 2. 400.

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The city of Basle had been the place of congress for the treaties of peace, and Mengaud had made it his residence. That artful minister had, by his intrigues with Vischer, le Grand, Erlacher Huber, and other democratic chiefs, but, above all, with the grand tribune, Peter Ochs, effected a defection of the canton from the Helvetic confederacy.—They had instigated the peasantry to resist the present established authorities. And these, at their instigation, now openly declared, that the following were the only conditions upon which they would adhere to the confederacy: (1.) “an unqualified admission of liberty and equality and the inalienable rights of man, and hence the introduction of a representative government; (2.) an intimate union between the citizens and peasantry, founded on the principle of perfect equality: (3.) a speedy convocation of a *national assembly*.”—This declaration of rights being accepted by the magistrates, who consented to the modelling of a constitution on democratic principles, the deputies were then recalled from Arau; and the democrats, after some expressions of aversion to the aristocrats, celebrated their triumph by planting the tree of liberty.*

The example of Basle was followed by the prevailing democratic parties in Zurich, Lucern, Shaffhausen, and Soleure. But in Friburg, and in some of the small cantons, the friends of the old governments had weight sufficient to prevent a revolution.†

The government of Berne, mean-time, where the aristocrats still preserved their ascendancy, prepared for resistance, but not with that energy and unanimity which alone could be expected to give them success.—General Weiss was dispatched by them into the Pays de Vaud, to suppress the insurgents, to awe the seditious, and retake the castle of Chillon. But he was not provided with a force adequate to these purposes; nor did he act with spirit in the execution of his commission. Such feeble efforts were rather calculated to inspire the mutineers with confidence than to crush the spirit of revolt in its infancy.

At

† February 1.

* Planta. 405.

† Idem. 408.

At the request of the Vaudois insurgents, general Menard, who commanded on the frontier towards Italy, prepared to afford them support. Preparatory to this, however, he dispatched Autier, his adjutant, to an interview with Weiss. — Unfortunately for the honour and interests of the adherents of the established governments, Autier and two hussars who escorted him were assailed and killed on their route. — This outrage furnished the directory with plausible grounds for hostilities. War was now to be waged, not as the allies of the revolted Vaudois only, but to revenge an insult committed against the French republic itself. 1798.

This event was more to be regretted on account of the critical state of things in the cantons. The council of Berne, in order to conciliate the affections of the people, had, at this time, called together delegates from the German districts of that canton, and was employed, with their assistance, in digesting a plan for new modelling the constitution in a representative form as a means of obviating every reasonable plea for a revolution. Moreover, to inspire the people with confidence, they issued a proclamation, in which, while they acknowledged that there were defects in the constitution, they engaged that these should be remedied, and the abuses in the administration reformed; and they represented the great accession of vigour which the state had acquired from the present unanimity of its members. — They then addressed letters to the executive directory, stating the measures which they had adopted to remove the cause of its interposition and recommend themselves to the friendship of the French republic, and dispatched deputies to general Brune, who commanded the French troops in the Pays de Vaud, to solicit the privilege of reforming their constitution without a total revolution, or the interference of a foreign power.*

All these measures of precaution and prudence were, however, seen to be ineffectual: and the alternative of yielding to oppression, or, with a spirit worthy of their virtuous, brave, and patriotic ancestors, to prepare resolutely for a defence of their liberties, now presented itself. — To preclude a possibility of effecting a settlement by conciliatory measures, Mengaud at once dictated the terms by a compliance with which they might merit the friendship of his government: “ that they should dismiss
“ their

* Planta. 2. 414. 17.

1798 "their ancient magistrates, and should suppress their secret council and council of war: and that, until a new government shall be organized; a provisional one, founded on democratic principles, and in which none of the members of the ancient government were to be admitted, should be established."—The rejection of these proposals were to be the signal of hostilities on the part of France: and, that he might hold out the most inviting lure to the partisans of democracy, Mengaud dispersed abroad copies of the plan of a new constitution, which, agreeably with those of France and Lombardy, was to be indivisible, purely democratic, and representative.*

Nothing could have tended more effectually to rouse the spirit of the Swiss nation than this dictatorial manner of imposing a system of government on them. "Notwithstanding some absurdities, arising from ignorance of our situation," said the virtuous, upright Lavater in a letter written at this period, "I admire the constitution which you force upon us, as a master-piece of human genius, as a noble monument of great policy: I verily believe, that nothing more sublime can be conceived for a polished nation: but I detest the means with which you require command, and force its acceptance."—This sentiment, which prevailed in the minds of all who had any sense of national honour, might have operated as their guardian genius, had not that ruin been brought on them by intestine distraction which no external force could have accomplished.—The canton of Basle was, we have seen, already lost to the confederacy. That of Zurich was under the influence of the democrats. Lucerne, Friburg, and Soleure, jealous of the ascendant power of Berne and desirous to see it humbled, not only neglected to send their proper contingent of troops to reinforce the Bernois army, but, by the influence of their example, prevented the small cantons from doing it.—Even the Bernois themselves were divided into three parties: the aristocrats headed by the Advoyer Steiguer and general d'Erlach: the moderate party, by general Weiss: and the democrats countenanced and directed by Mengaud, Peter Ochs, and other warm advocates of revolutionary principles.^d

Under these unpropitious circumstances did the veteran general d'Erlach take the field, with 22,000 Bernois troops, to oppose the conquerors of the

* Wood. 391. 92. Planta. 2. 415.

^b Wood. 304.

^c Idem. 394. 409.

^d Idem. 392.

the Netherlands, of Batavia, and of Italy.—Posting the several divisions of his forces between Soleure and Friburg, he prepared instantly to avail himself of the full powers with which he was invested, and the indignation which the insolence of France had excited in the breasts of his countrymen, to bring his enemy to action. But at that instant, unfortunately, the prevalence of his opponents in the council enabled them to procure a repeal of his powers. ||—The present majority in the council, either deceived by the pacific overtures made, at this time, by Brune, or unwilling to proceed resolutely to warlike measures as long as there remained any hope of an amicable settlement, or influenced by the intrigues of Mengaud, entered into a negotiation with Brune; the drift of whose policy soon became manifest.

The French general gave his *ultimatum* to the Bernois deputies sent to treat with him in nearly the same terms with Mengaud. But when he was apprized that the council was rent by faction, and that d'Erlach was embarrassed in his intended operations by the repeal of his powers, he rose higher in his demands, insisting on the immediate dismissal of the Swiss army.* —Having protracted the negotiations, and renewed the armistice which had been agreed to between him and the council till general Schawenburg was arrived in the bishoprick of Basle with a strong reinforcement, he then entered on active hostilities.

Agreeably with their plan of operations, whilst Brune prepared to attack the centre division of the Swiss army, commanded by d'Erlach himself, near Morat, Schawenburg advanced from Basle; and, after some obstructions from the resolute stand made by the forces posted at the castle of Dornach and the village of Lengnau, he obliged the garrison of Soleure to capitulate.—General Pigeon, with another division, in the mean-time, made himself master of Friburg; and with the concurrence of the magistrates, who were friendly to a revolution, he established a provisional government in that canton.

On information of these disasters, d'Erlach retired towards Berne, before the united armies of Brune and Schawenburg, amounting to 50,000 men, and well provided with artillery. †—Though the movement was judicious; his

|| March 2.

* Planta, 2. 419. 21.

† Wood, 401.

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his present position being better calculated for defence and for the protection of the capital, yet a retreat was deemed disgraceful; and a sense of the reproach attached to it afforded the disaffected an occasion of clamour against their general. A mutiny ensued; and great numbers deserted his standard.—When the whole country presented a scene of confusion, the magistrates of Berne, whose wavering conduct had been throughout instrumental to the revolution, forwarded it by surrendering their authority to a number of persons hastily chosen by the people, under the denomination of a *provisionary regency*.^a

This act soon brought the contest to an issue.—The new administration would instantly have capitulated to that army by whose influence they had been invested with power, had they not been restrained by the moderatists and the people.—To save their credit with the public, they gave orders for a general attack; and the memorable battle of Frauenbrunnen ensued.† While their forces were preparing for action, they were attacked themselves in different quarters, and behaved with such exemplary bravery as sufficiently evinced that the Swiss might have bidden defiance to all the world had they been united among themselves.—The French artillery made prodigious havock among them: yet they not only maintained their ground for a long time, but, in one quarter, they repulsed a division of the enemy with the loss of 2000 men, and seized all their artillery.

This success, unfortunately, was balanced by the issue of an attack in another quarter.—So impetuous was the charge of the French cavalry, supported by the horse artillery, that the Swiss, who had only infantry to oppose them were obliged to give way.—They, however, rallied: and possessing themselves of a narrow pass, four miles from Berne, they fought with a firmness and valour worthy of their most illustrious ancestors. The women here shared in every danger with the men; some of them joining the ranks, and others rushing among the enemy, and endeavouring to obstruct the artillery by clinging to the wheels of the carriages.—Driven from their ground four times, by dint of superior force, they rallied again, and made their fifth stand near the city gates; nor did they desist from the desperate conflict till more than a third part of their troops were slain.

The

† March 5.

^a Planta. 426.

The remainder, retiring to the mountains near Thun, left the enemy a victory purchased with the loss of 4000 men.—General d'Erlach escaped from the field of battle; but was assassinated by his own troops, who suspected him of treason. 1798

The new regency demanding a capitulation, the city was surrendered in the evening of this fatal day, with no other terms than a mere gratuitous protection for the persons and property of the inhabitants. The French troops then entering the city, the tree of liberty was formally planted amidst a concourse of people mourning the loss of their independency, and anticipating all the evils that might be expected to arise from the infatuation or wickedness of their rulers, in submitting to be duped or corrupted by the agents of France.—Their melancholy apprehensions were immediately realized in the conduct of their conquerors. The soldiers, regardless of their general's promise, pillaged the shops and rifled the persons of the citizens. The surrounding villages were given up to be plundered: and all those who had property were in consequence reduced from affluence to extreme distress.—Brune, mean-time, proceeded to seize those public treasures, which had been the grand object of the expedition, and were to serve as supplies for carrying on other enterprises. And it was computed that, beside the contents of the store-houses and granaries, and that of the arsenal where were found 300 cannon and 40,000 stand of arms, the treasures and forfeited property of the patrician families amounted to 20,000,000 livres.^a

Such were the first-fruits of the friendship of a state which had proffered its services to the Swiss to relieve them from oppression. But the inconsistency of the French government did not terminate here. They who had filled all Europe with complaints against the powers which had interfered in the domestic affairs of France, who had invited this people to throw themselves under their protection by assuming the specious character of deliverers, as if in derision of truth, honesty, and sincerity, having plundered them of their property, now proceeded to impose a constitution on them.

“ This constitution, consisting of twelve articles, divided the whole country, including Rhætia, or the Grison country, into twenty-two departments,

^a Planta. 2. 431. Wood. 402.

7198 { “ departments, each of which was to send four senators and eight counsellors to the legislative assembly at Arau, by whom a periodical choice was to be made of five directors, to whom the executive power was to be committed. Provision was to be made for a standing army, and also for the organization of a national militia, to be called together as occasion might require.”

How must the breasts of this once free nation have burned with indignation, how must they have regretted their lost freedom and independency, when they saw twelve hundred French grenadiers attending the diet at Arau, before which this constitution was to be laid, under pretence of affording it protection!—The representatives of ten departments accepted it:‡ the other twelve departments either hesitated, or positively rejected the summons. And yet we are informed that it was represented to the French directory, that the nation had celebrated this *happy* revolution with great exultation.¹—What was the general sense of the people will be best collected from the occurrences which ensued.

Geneva, which had so long exhibited to the world an example of the evils inherent in a government which had in it so much of the democratic principle, was one of the first sacrifices to the ascendancy of France in this country.—Being no longer awed or restrained by the neighbouring powers, the French government appointed commissioners to deliberate and treat respecting the affairs of that state: and the result was that it was formally united with the republic of France.‖—We then find Desportes, the commissary employed in this transaction, felicitating the Genevese on their newly-attained happiness; and as a lure to other nations which may be disposed to seek the protection of France, he informs us of the manner in which it was afforded; “ after the sitting of the sovereign council under the express demand of the Genevese, I put within their walls an armed force commanded by general Gerard, only consisting of about 1200 men, merely sufficient to suppress the fury of the brigands, who threatened to destroy the friends of the French.”^k

It was from the small cantons, where refinement and corruption had not found its way among the simple shepherds, that the French experienced the

‡ April 12. ‖ April 26.

¹ Planta. 2. 437.

^k State Papers. Annual Register. 250.

the firmest resistance to their power. Actuated by the love of independence transmitted to them from their ancestors, the people of Schwitz, Uri, Underwalden, Zug, and Glaris, resolved to resist every attempt to introduce innovations among them; and their deputies, assembling at Brunen, entered into a solemn engagement of mutual support.—When it was known that they were adopting measures for the maintenance of their rights, the French general, Carlier, dispatched Nouvion and Jordy with a strong body of forces to reduce them.—Several conflicts ensued, in which the Swiss fought with their accustomed bravery. But they were soon overpowered by numbers and were reluctantly constrained to accept the new constitution.[†]

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Even this did not terminate the resistance of the small cantons nor the sufferings of the Swiss.—The people of Uri and Underwalden refused individually to take the civic oath binding the whole nation to the new constitution. They intreated the French general, in the moving language which nature dictated; “to receive from a people ever true to their engagements, who, among their craggy mountains, have no other comfort but their religion and their liberty, whose only riches is their cattle, the sincere assurance that they will ever give to the French republic all the proofs of their devotedness compatible with their liberty and independence. Accept,” said they, “citizen general, our solemn promise never to take up arms against the great republic and never to join its enemies. Our liberty is our only blessing; nor will any thing ever induce us to grasp our arms, except our duty to defend our liberty.”[”]

This artless, pathetic address wrought no effect on the French general. It was thought necessary to exterminate this band of shepherds, lest the germe of liberty, if preserved among them, should extend itself. And so important was the achievement deemed, that we find the general indirectly apologizing for the abundance of blood which it had cost, by saying, that they were *rebels, whom it was necessary to subdue*.

Thus was the subjugation of the Swiss completed: for, although they were still flattered with an existence as an independent people, yet an absolute dependence on France was evidently a part of the design of the French

† May 4.

¹ Planta. 434. 42.

[”] Idem. 456.

1798 French government.—Domestic distraction was, no doubt, the origin of all the evils which befel them. Yet we cannot contemplate these events, and at the same time reflect on their history, without commiserating a people who, after liberating themselves from the oppression of the house of Austria by their bravery, and struggling with a thousand difficulties, have been thus rifled of their property, and stripped of their independency. But, whilst we deplore their misfortunes, we may hope that this partial evil may be productive of general good: that the proceedings of the French in this country will be strongly impressed on the minds of men; and that the record of them will serve as a beacon on the summit of the highest Alps, to warn all nations against their insidious policy.

From these scenes of oppression we must carry our attention to the court of Rome, which was another of the sources from which France was drawing its supplies for the present war.—The pontiff and his court were hastening toward that ultimate point of degradation which arose from insignificance in the eyes of foreign powers, from extreme pecuniary embarrassment, and the personal disesteem of his subjects.—The abuse of public money and sovereign authority to the purpose of what, in the ecclesiastical state, is called nepotism, or the enriching his nephews at the public expence, moved the indignation of the people: the requisitions made by France in consequence of the late treaty, together with the loss of territory, aggravated the national evils by rendering additional taxes necessary: and there subsisted a strong faction in the bosom of the state which was hostile to the papal power, and desirous of seeing a form of government established more agreeable with the prevailing sentiments of liberty.—A government under these circumstances, having no principle of stability in itself, deriving tranquillity from indolence and the habitude of oppression, though it might have continued in a state of torpor for some time, must be considered as verging towards a revolution; which must certainly befall it whenever any incident should afford the malecontents a favourable opportunity of accomplishing their wishes.—These thought it advisable, at present, to conceal their intentions. But, whilst the burthen of state affairs was sustained by cardinal Doria, as secretary, a man of understanding and repute but not conversant in business of state,* and the pontiff went uniformly

* Life of Pius the Sixth. 2. 309. 331.

uniformly through the routine of court ceremonies and religious observances, apparently insensible of danger, the storm was imperceptibly gathering which was to prove fatal to the papal power. 1798

A contest had taken place between his holiness and the Cisalpine republic respecting the pope's right to the fort of Santo Leone, on the frontier of the duchy of Urbino; which terminated in the reduction of the fortress by the republican troops.—Pius deemed it advisable to acquiesce in the loss. And a memorial was framed by him, in concert with Joseph Buonaparte, the general's brother, now ambassador at the court of Rome, by which his holiness formally acknowledged that republic, and testified a desire of living on terms of amity with it.*

In this state were affairs at the Roman capital, the pope still appearing in his accustomed state, yet holding his power, his very existence as a crowned head, at the mercy of France, when an incident occurred which proved the fatal occasion of all the disasters which ensued.

The revolutionary partisans, confident of the support of France, grew daily more desirous to carry their scheme for subverting the present government into execution. They consulted Buonaparte on the subject; but received no encouragement from him. Yet so impatient were they to avail themselves of what they conceived to be a favourable moment, that they could not be dissuaded from the attempt. A tumult ensued in the city;† and the populace, braving the papal government, boldly manifested the designs of their chiefs by crying out, "Live the republic! Live the Roman people!"—Incensed at this insolence, the soldiers employed to suppress the insurgents pursued them within the precincts of the French ambassador's palace, and fired on them in his court-yard, in defiance of his persuasions to withdraw.—General Duphot, then, expostulating more earnestly with the soldiery, and attempting to wrest a musket out of the hands of one of them, was shot through the body and expired on the spot.‡

If the want of police in the capital, or of discipline among the papal troops, gave occasion to these rash and unjustifiable actions, it might have been expected that the pontiff or his secretary, conscious of their weakness, would.

† December 27. 1797.

* Life of Pius the Sixth. 323.

‡ Annual Register. 50.

1798 would have hastened to convince the offended party that they were not implicated in it, and that they were ready to make any proper atonement. On the contrary, several hours were suffered to elapse before any inquiry was made into the affair. Buonaparte, in the mean-time, had addressed a letter to cardinal Doria, acquainting him with what had passed; and, when the cardinal minister did not interpose, he wrote him a second, informing him of his determination to leave a city where he had been thus insulted.

Doria, then at last, who appears to have been rather infatuated and bewildered than wilfully negligent, was completely roused: and, passing from a state of senseless torpitude to unmanly trepidation, arising from a sense of danger without resource, he made concessions that were undignified and unbecoming a sovereign potentate. In a letter addressed by him to the marquis Massini, the pope's minister at Paris, after endeavouring to clear his holiness and himself from any participation in the offence, "you are," said he, "to request of the directory that they will demand whatever satisfaction they think proper: to demand and to obtain will be the same thing: for neither his holiness, nor I, nor the court of Rome, will ever be easy in mind until certain that the directory is satisfied."¹—Concession came too late, when his holiness had made fruitless applications to the courts of Madrid, Naples, Florence, and Vienna, to act as his mediators on this occasion; when Buonaparte had expressed his resentment by quitting the Roman capital, and, in contempt, had, in a letter to his own government, represented the court of Rome as lying prostrate at the feet of Azara, the Spanish ambassador, intreating his interposition and assistance in bringing him back to Rome.²

The consequences of this weakness were such as might have been expected. The party at Rome which had been long meditating a revolution were now seen to avail themselves of the disposition of France to assist in any revolutionary schemes, to accomplish their design. And when the court of Rome had, with extreme imprudence, afforded the French government a specious plea for crushing a power which had irritated it by fruitless opposition, that rapacious power seized the opportunity to enrich itself by its spoils.—There being no power on the continent

¹ Life of Pius, 2. 330.

² Idem. 332. 3.

nent which had spirit to oppose itself to the strides which France was now making in the establishment of its tyranny, it was foreseen that the papal power, enfeebled by every circumstance that could induce debility, would fall a sacrifice to its own folly; and that the renovated government would be added to the states dependent on France.—The events which led to this catastrophe followed each other in rapid succession.—Early in this year, general Berthier, debarking with a body of French and Cisalpine troops at Ancona,|| advanced towards Rome. A deputation from the pope would have waited on him on his route: but he informed the prince of Belmonte, the Neapolitan ambassador, who acted as mediator, that he had no instructions to receive any such.—Approaching the walls of the city, he declared, by a proclamation, “ that the intent of his mission was, to bring
 “ to justice the authors of the assassination of general Duphot, and of
 “ Basseville, secretary of legation to the French embassy in 1793, and to
 “ take the citizens of Rome under his protection.”

This was the signal for the execution of the revolutionary design.—Its advocates, invited by the friendly offers of France, assembled in the campovaccino, and proclaimed the resumption of their *ancient sovereignty*.—They next proceeded to constitute themselves a free and independent state, resembling that of France; placing at the head of the executive government five consuls, in whom was vested the authority formerly exercised by the pope and his council of state.—A deputation was then dispatched, to lay this revolutionary act before the French general, and request his approbation.

That he might give his sanction in a manner best calculated to impress the multitude with reverence for the new government and that state which he represented, he entered the city in military pomp; and, advancing to the capitol, he addressed the people in an harangue more correspondent with the professions than the practice of his sovereigns; congratulating them on the recovery of their liberty, of which, he declared himself and his associates in the enterprise to be the protectors. “ Those descendants
 “ of the Gauls, with the olive branch of peace in their hands,” said he,
 “ come to this august place to re-edify in it the altars of liberty erected
 “ by

|| January 25.

Annual Register. 52.

1798 "by the first of the Brutuses."—After admonishing them to reflect on their ancestry, and "to resume their pristine greatness and the virtues of their progenitors," he acknowledged the independence of the Roman republic; which should consist of the provinces that remained under the papal dominion after the treaty of Campo Formio.—To remove the apprehension which the partisans of the old government were endeavouring to impress on the minds of the people, that they would be despoiled of their effects, he declared, "that the severest discipline would be maintained, and that the persons, properties, and newly acquired liberties of the inhabitants, with those former laws, customs, and usages which they chose to retain, whether civil or religious, should remain untouched and inviolable."—To prevent disturbances to the new government, he enjoined, by proclamation, the French emigrants to retire from the territory of the Roman republic within twenty-four hours.—And, that the world might not remain in uncertainty with regard to the grand object of this enterprise, after disarming the papal troops, and confining the pope in the vatican under a guard of 500 men, and putting seals upon his apartments, he demanded a contribution of four millions of livres in specie, two millions in provisions, and three thousand horses.—In the mean-time, the cardinals, thinking it advisable to yield to a stream which they had not strength to resist, made a formal resignation of the temporal government of the state. *

The fate of the Roman pontiff and others who constituted the ecclesiastical state now became a matter of interest to the world. Those who had observed with indignation the abuses of power, under the pope's auspices, which had been the means of depriving one of the finest countries in the universe of its natural riches, and rendering it little better than a desert from want of cultivation, those who were grieved at seeing the essentials of christianity superseded by the parade of religious ceremonies and devotion dishonoured by superstitious observances, those who were disgusted at seeing the various forms in which nepotism was practised, all tending to the national prejudice, could not but feel some degree of concern at the afflictions with which the aged pontiff was overwhelmed.—It being feared that his presence in a city where his pontifical dignity entitled him to reverence,

* Life of Pius. 2. 333.

† Ann. Regist. 56. Life of Pius. 346.

reverence, and where his accustomed bounties gave him influence, might be prejudicial to the revolutionary cause, he was called upon to leave Rome.[†] 1798
 —His first place of retirement was a convent in the environs of Sienna. Being soon dislodged from this retreat by the shock of an earthquake which threw down some of the adjoining buildings, he was removed to a carthusian monastery near Florence; where he was visited, on his arrival, by the grand duke of Tuscany, who did honour to his own feelings by the courtesy and tender regard which he testified towards him.—Conformably to the wishes of the dictators who had assumed the reins of government under the direction of the French republic, he there laid aside that small degree of ecclesiastical state in which he had appeared at Sienna. This change was probably intended to prevent the danger apprehended to the present system from the access of a great number of persons to him, and from the respect which is attached to dignity and external pomp. But the aged priest, divested of the trappings of dignity, appeared more respectable than the stately pontiff had done, because he was more in character: and the resignation and humility with which he bore his degradation were better calculated to excite reverential regard in the eyes of every rational person, than his former ostentatious performance of religious ceremonies.

Although the pontiff's fortunes were thus broken, yet the all-powerful republic of France did not think it advisable to suffer this shadow of ecclesiastical power to remain so near the seat of his former greatness.—The grand duke was urged to send him out of his dominions. And, on his expressing an unwillingness to be the agent in doing what was so repugnant to his feelings, as that of denying the common rights of hospitality to the revered father of the catholic church, a sterner mandate was sent him by the directory: "Send him out of Tuscany; or we will hold you responsible for the disturbances which his proximity excites and may yet further excite in Rome."[‡]

The grand duke not daring to disobey the commands of France, it now became a matter of deliberation where the successor of those spiritual potentates who had received homage from emperors, and had made all Europe

† February 23.

‡ Life. 2. 368.

‡ Idem. 2. 370.

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Europe tremble at the thunders of the vatican, should repose himself during the last mournful period of his life. When objections were made to his retiring to the territories of the emperor or the king of Spain, Sardinia was, at last, chosen as his place of retirement. His removal, however, did not take place. Being seized with an illness, during the negotiations respecting this affair, which rendered it impracticable without endangering his life, he was suffered to continue some time in his present residence.*

The former subjects of his holiness, in the mean-time, received daily further testimonies of the high price at which they were destined to purchase the assistance of *these descendants of the Gauls*, in subverting their ancient government and *re-edifying the altars of liberty*. Every state arrangement was made, every public measure was adopted, in conformity with the will of the French general: and multiplied exactions from every description of persons possessing property were made subservient to the pecuniary exigencies of the French republic.—Had the duke of Braschi, the pope's nephew, who had amassed immense wealth by his extortions and abuse of power, been the only victim of republican tyranny, his sufferings would have been unpitied. But when the whole sacred college, without regard to merit, were subjected to confiscation and exile, it excited commiseration towards them. And when the world were informed that, in the course of a few weeks, the requisitions in kind, the produce of pillage, the spoils of churches, and the contributions levied on persons of property, amounted to eight millions sterling,* their eyes were opened to the farcical nature of those professions by which the French government had imposed on mankind as the patrons of liberty and the protectors of natural rights: and men of reflection were convinced, that, should the European powers continue supinely to suffer their depredations, they would, under pretence, of re-edifying the altars of liberty, erect a system of tyranny far more tremendous than that spiritual tyranny had ever been which they were at this time endeavouring to subvert.

These grievances consequent on the revolution would not, perhaps, have occasioned disturbance to the new government had they not been accompanied with others which were more generally felt.—The Roman populace,

* Life. 2. 370.

* Idem. 382. and Ann. Register. 62.

populace, actuated by the love of novelty and the harangues of those who had persuaded them of the advantages which they would derive from a revolution, had gladly assisted in the destruction of the old government, without considering by what means these benefits were to be attained, or what would be the immediate consequences of such an event. But when the pope and the rich ecclesiastics were driven from Rome, and the Roman princes, despoiled of their vast wealth, could no longer feed them at their gates, when the indignant populace found that the pittance which they had formerly obtained as the wages of servility, or as the alms of the charitable, was withdrawn without any substitute, and that they were threatened with labour, to which they had an utter aversion, as the only means of supplying their wants, and when all ranks felt the oppression of the military government which was, in effect, established in Rome, they began to look back with regret to the times when they had indulged their disposition to laziness under the drowsy, lenient government of the pope, which was continually making an atonement for the effects of a wretched system of civil policy by an ostensible attention to their wants, and the perpetual round of religious ceremonies and public shews with which they were amused.

The characters of the French generals who commanded in Rome aggravated these grievances. Berthier gave great occasion of complaint by his connivances at the outrages committed by his troops, particularly in the plunder of churches. These were so notorious that the subordinate officers, to clear themselves of the suspicion of being implicated in them, signed an address to him, † calling on the Almighty to witness their detestation of the extortions exercised in the city of Rome; and insisting, at the same time, on the payment of their arrears.—When Berthier, now commander in chief in Italy, was called on to quell a mutiny among the troops at Mantua, on account of the non-payment of their arrears, he was succeeded by Massena, whose rapacity was rendered more odious by brutal manners. Luxurious as well as ferocious, he disgusted his officers and the citizens by the sumptuous style in which he lived amidst a scene of distress.^b—General Brune, who was appointed his successor, on the earnest entreaty of the officers

† February 24.

^b Annual Register, 60.

1798 officers for his removal, restored tranquillity by the strict regulations which he made; and the government, to appease the people, punished some of the most notorious depredators severely for their crimes;^c endeavouring, at the same time, to throw the blame of the tumults which these outrages of their troops and agents had occasioned on the partisans of the pope.

In fact, all orders of men became dissatisfied and disgusted with the authors of the revolution, when they witnessed the abuses and outrages committed under the specious shew of conferring liberty, and when they saw their new governors reduced to the capacity of instruments in the hands of the French republic, to extort enormous contributions with the forms of law. So odious and despicable was such an employment, that men of honour and humanity either resigned their appointments in the state, or were dismissed from them for their opposition to the measures which they were required to execute; and their places were filled with men who were well pleased to enrich themselves at the expence of their fame.^d

These discontents afforded the counter-revolutionists an opportunity of forwarding their views, which they readily embraced. The oppression, the depredations, the exactions practised by men who professed themselves the deliverers of nations, *descendants of the Gauls, come, with the olive branch of peace in their hands, to re-edify the altar of liberty*, were displayed by them in the most odious light. Nor did they fail of success. The populace, disappointed of the blessings which they had been taught to expect from the revolution, deprived of the bread which they had been accustomed to receive from the opulent, and of the spectacles and processions with which they had formerly been amused, readily became agents in destroying that system which they had assisted in erecting, and re-edifying what they contributed to demolish.—An insurrection took place at Fiorentino, in the compagna di Roma, || in which the clergy, dropping their pacific character, bore a distinguished part.—General Macdonald, then commander of the French forces at Rome, dispatched a body of troops against them.—A severe conflict ensued: and the insurgents were, at last, defeated, but not without

|| July 29.

^c Ann. Register. 60. 2. 63.

^d Idem. 64.

without much slaughter on both sides.—A similar issue attended an insurrection at Terracinum.† 1798

The consequence of these efforts to redress themselves was an increase of misery to the inhabitants of the ecclesiastical states. All the towns which had countenanced the insurrection were given up to be plundered. And Macdonald, a fit agent of a tyrannical state, caused two laws to be published; by one of which all who were implicated in these insurrections were made liable to capital punishment; by the other the association denominated *the company of the faith of Jesus* were rendered liable to be tried by a military court.—Moreover, he availed himself of the occasion which these disturbances afforded to exact a forced loan, whereby the possessors of from three to six thousand crowns a year were called upon for one-third of their income: those who had from six to ten thousand, two-thirds: and those of ten thousand the whole.*

The same dictatorial power was exercised in all the other countries which France had subjugated, under pretence of rendering them independent states.—The Cisalpine republic was honoured with the peculiar regard of Buonaparte: it was, indeed, the result of his successful enterprises: the formation of it carried him to the summit of his glory.—When he bade adieu to the Cisalpines, to revisit France, and digest with the directory the plan of his intended Egyptian expedition, he reminded them of their happiness in having recovered their liberty, and admonished them that it was their duty to preserve it.—However desirous those republicans might be to conform to his exhortations, they soon found the difficulty of doing it under the protection of France; they were informed by experience that, however dear their rights might be held by their patron, they were not deemed inviolable by the directory.—That constitution which Buonaparte had framed was destined immediately to give place to another wherein the ascendancy of the French government might be better provided for.—The new constitution, proposed to the councils by Trouvé, the French ambassador, was vigorously opposed, but without effect. It was carried into execution by that minister, in conjunction with general Brune, who was sent into Italy for that purpose, and was followed by reinforcements of

† August 22.

* Annual Register, 68. 70.

1798 of troops to the garrisons in Lombardy, to aid them in it, should occasion require their assistance.^f

The Cisalpines, about the same time, were constrained, contrary to their inclinations, to enter into an alliance with the French republic, by which they were bound to become a party in all the wars in which that state should engage, and to assist it with all its means and resources, when so required.—This was accompanied with a commercial treaty between the two republics.

But they were soon to have fuller and more humiliating conviction of their subserviency to France.—When it was seen that these changes occasioned dissatisfaction in the councils, lest the Austrian partisans should gain a majority, a considerable number of the members of those bodies, together with three directors and several of the ministry, were dismissed.—These proceedings were protested against by the Cisalpines, as a violation of their independency. On their appealing to the French directory, the general and the ambassador were summoned to Paris, to give an account of the transaction, but no redress was given them.—Moreover, that they might completely establish their power in Italy, and provide every possible security against the Austrian partisans, who began boldly to declare that they regretted a change of system which had laid heavier burthens on them and destroyed their tranquillity without giving them independency, the directory ordered a correspondent change to be made in the Ligurian republic which had been formed under their direction.^g

The same tyranny was practised by the French government towards the Swiss. Seventeen towns and above a hundred villages had been sacked or committed to the flames; and the districts inhabited by those who had dared to disobey their commands were laid waste. The advocates for more perfect liberty hoped by these sacrifices to have attained their object. They were, however, destined, like others who had expected to obtain liberty by the assistance of France, to experience disappointment. Their new constitution was scarcely formed when the French directory began to interpose in the administration of their government; and they sufficiently evinced how incompatible the real enjoyment of freedom was with their principles by causing a law to be passed prohibiting citizens from present-
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^f Annual Register, 108. 14.

^g Idem, 116. 18.

ing petitions in a corporate capacity.^b—When this was opposed by the people, as inconsistent with their liberties, three officers waited on the senate and great council, by orders from general Schauenberg and Rapinat, the French commissioner, to inform them, “ that the commissioner considered the country as conquered by the arms of France, and himself as entitled to direct all civil, military, and financial operations: therefore, whoever should endeavour to obstruct the measures taken by the French, for the arrangement of affairs in Switzerland would be viewed as an enemy, and as an agent of England.” 1798

These measures, though submitted to by the Helvetic government, were so warmly resented by the whole nation, that the directory, apprehensive of the ill consequences of them, thought it advisable to rescind them; and assured the Helvetic body that it should remain in full possession of their independency. But so evident was it in every transaction that they were expected to obey the mandates of France even in their domestic affairs, and especially those of finance, that the advocates of liberty who were in the French interests exclaimed against such subservience, as a dereliction of their principles and a violation of that independency and freedom which they had pretended to confer upon them.^c—These persons were confirmed in their opinions and their apprehensions by an edict, dictated by the partisans of France, of a most arbitrary and unreasonable nature, enjoining all the Swiss in foreign parts to repair to their native country within the space of a month, in order to take the civic oath.—So inauspicious was this interference of France in the affairs of the Helvetic republic deemed to the revival of liberty, that great repugnance was expressed by many to the alliance, offensive and defensive, concluded at this time between the two states;^d and it was already presaged that jealousy would soon disunite them.

The transactions of this period in the Dutch provinces were no less calculated than any of the preceding to manifest to the world the determination of the French republic to render every state which had accepted its proffered assistance in new-modelling their governments subservient to its power.—The Dutch nation were divided, with respect to political opinions, into two classes: the partisans of the nobles and other men of great

^b Annual Register, 1792.

^c Idem, 1803.

^d Idem, 1805.

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great landed property, who, with their estates, received from their ancestors an attachment to that government under which, with all its imperfections, they had prospered during so many ages; and those of the merchants and other commercial men, who aspired to the importance to which they thought themselves entitled by their wealth; who were desirous of a revolution which should supplant the aristocrats in their power, and of a constitution better adapted to their views.—The latter had been the partisans of France in the late revolt, in 1786, when the stadtholder was driven from the Hague and deprived of his offices: and they had, from the time of the invasion in 1795, been endeavouring to accomplish the abolition of their ancient federal union and distinct provincial constitutions, and to accomplish the formation of a constitution resembling that of France, by which they should be formed into one indivisible state.

The revolutionary partisans, having at length overcome their opponents, accomplished their design.—Thinking it proper to have the national sanction to a measure of such importance, the majority in the acting legislature first collected the signatures of those who approved the fundamental articles of the proposed constitution. The president, then, convoked an assembly of the legislature,† by the authority of which six commissioners of foreign relations and twenty-one members of their own body who had been most active in opposing their measures were put under an arrest.—After these preparatory steps, having constituted themselves the sole governing and legislative power of the Batavian nation, they proceeded to abrogate all provincial governments and jurisdictions, and they constituted an executive government, or directory, consisting of five members, who were to receive their nomination and general instructions from the legislature.¹

However conducive this measure might have been to the national prosperity could the provinces have been independent of France, it was expected that the execution of it in so arbitrary a manner, by a party supported by that power, would be loudly exclaimed against.—To prevent molestation to the government, therefore, the legislature, immediately on the assumption of their power, strictly forbade the nation to make remonstrances, or present petitions, in their corporal capacity, either to the legislature or the directory.²

Thus

¹ Annual Register. 80.

† January 22.

² Idem. 81.

Thus was the Dutch nation told, at the very instant of their pretended regeneration, that they were no longer to enjoy that privilege which has ever been deemed essential to freedom, of making known their sentiments on national affairs and petitioning redress of their grievances.—The subsequent measures of the government were correspondent with the same spirit of oppression, and pointed out the evil genius which was destined to preside over the councils of the Dutch states. The French partisans, not content with the establishment of a constitution which, by bringing the national representatives together in one body, might render the state more liable to be influenced by France, prepared to engross every branch of power, by dismissing all who were suspected of disaffection to them from their appointments, and replacing them with such persons as were devoted to their interests. Under the specious pretence of attending to the public welfare and tranquillity, they excluded from the primary assemblies, as dangerous to the national peace, all who presumed to disapprove their measures: and that they might establish themselves in power, when the people had accepted the constitutional act, the sitting assembly passed a decree,† declaring itself the legislative assembly of the Batavian republic.*

Having reviewed the means adopted by the French government to gain an ascendancy in the ecclesiastical state, in the newly-formed Italian republics, in Switzerland, and in Holland, the narrative of political occurrences now leads us to its transactions with the king of Sardinia, and the insidious artifices employed by it to establish its power in Piedmont.—His Sardinian majesty, to avoid a repetition of the evils which he had suffered in the late war, had adhered strictly to the neutrality which he had engaged to observe by his treaty with France in 1796. But his good faith was seen to have no weight in recommending him to the amity of that state, when policy led it to oppress him or to despoil him of his territories.

An insurrection taking place, this year, at Carosio, a town belonging to Piedmont, but inclosed by the dominions of Genoa, on account of some new taxes and pecuniary regulations, and the ruling powers in that republic discovering a disposition to protect the insurgents, a dispute ensued respecting the

† May 4.

* Annual Register. 83.

1798 the king's right to march his troops through the intervening territory to suppress them.—The origin of this insurrection was seen in the incidents which followed on it. Guinguené, the French ambassador at Turin, unreservedly declaring himself their protector, insisted on their being pardoned, and was supported by general Brune. The Ligurian republic gave his majesty to understand that they would espouse the cause of the insurgents. And the French minister, formally interposing in their behalf, demanded, in the name of the French directory, an absolute oblivion of the past, on condition of their laying down their arms.—This requisition led to the development of the plot. The king did not refuse compliance: he only hesitated: and the repugnance which this implied was judged sufficient grounds for requiring the immediate cession of the citadel of Turin, as a security for the performance of his engagement to pardon the insurgents.—Willing, at any rate, to avoid the renewal of war, the king testified his subjection to France by agreeing to the consignment,|| and admitting French troops into his fortress.* But he soon had reason to repent of his tameness; and learned by fatal experience that a prince ought to hazard his very existence in a good cause, rather than submit to what will degrade him in the eyes of his people.

These acts of oppression had an evident influence on the political sentiments of men, and still more on the feelings of the continental powers towards the French government.—They had formed a coalition to restore Lewis the Sixteenth to the free exercise of his authority, and to provide for the safety and independence of other states.—Their purpose had been frustrated by the astonishing energy displayed by the French republic.—They had purchased peace at the price of their territories and their honour; and had left Great Britain to maintain, alone, the cause of monarchy and independency. But they were now convinced, as well by their observations upon the general tenour of French policy as by the requisitions made by the republican ministers at the congress now assembled at Rastadt,† that either they must resume their arms, or all Europe would eventually be constrained to bend to the yoke imposed by a tyrannizing state, which, whilst it was holding out the lure of liberty, to invite men to join their standard,

|| June 27.

* Annual Register, 122.

† See 1799.

standard, was employing the most artful policy, as the auxiliary of its arms, in subjecting all nations to its dominion. 1798

Impressed with these sentiments and actuated by these feelings, the emperor meditated warlike councils; and drew his forces towards the Swiss frontier, ostensibly with a view of protecting the Grisons, whose country the French republic were preparing to seize, in order to complete their line of communication with the north of Italy.¹ He, at the same time, opened negotiations with the court of Naples, and set forth the necessity of a vigorous opposition to a power which threatened destruction to all existing establishments.—These sentiments perfectly corresponded with those of his Neapolitan majesty, suggested by the situation of his own kingdom, and the demeanour of France towards him. The alarm which that monarch had conceived from the proceedings of the French in the ecclesiastical state and in Piedmont was heightened by the arrogance which he had experienced from them, and the augmentation of their forces at Rome, and by the enterprise in which Buonaparte was embarked in the Mediterranean; which occasioned more terror because the final destination of it was not yet known.—The French directory, not content with placing themselves on an equality with crowned heads, were encouraged to dictate to them by their tame submission. We have an example of this in an implied threat denounced against don Ferdinand by Garrat, the French ambassador; who, on information that certain individuals had been imprisoned on account of their political opinions, demanded their liberation; making it a condition of the amity of France, and its *guaranteeing Naples against any attempts from the Italian republics.*²

Don Ferdinand was sensible of the insult offered him; and he could not but penetrate the views of the French government to bring on hostilities with him under colour of supporting the dependent republics. But, in his present circumstances, he thought it advisable to comply with the requisition.—This acquiescence, however, was manifestly intended only to gain time. The necessity of warlike measures, and of a close alliance with the house of Austria, whose situation was similar to his own, became daily more evident. Therefore, arrangements were made with the imperial court, whilst

¹ Annual Register. 111. 426.

² Idem. 123. 25.

1798 whilst recourse was had to the most eligible modes of raising supplies for the war.*

The French government, observing these appearances of an hostile intention, endeavoured to deter don Ferdinand from his warlike councils by reminding him of the tenour of their late treaty: and, to intimidate him, the French ambassador admonished him of the great number of malecontents in his dominions, who were ready to join the French army, in case of an invasion. But these menaces had no longer their desired effect.—On the contrary, don Ferdinand, as the best preservative of domestic peace, caused the malecontents who had been liberated to be again thrown into prison.†

In this state were affairs at Naples when an event occurred which gave confidence to the enemies of France and hastened their warlike movements.

————The French government, having abandoned all thoughts of the expedition against Great Britain, substituted in its room an enterprise which Buonaparte had long had in contemplation.—As soon as that adventurous general had completed his designs in Italy, he projected a settlement in Egypt with a view not only of opening a very profitable trade with that fertile country as well as Arabia and Abyssinia, but of giving France a complete dominion in the Mediterranean, and supplanting Great Britain in her trade, and driving her subjects from their settlements, on the peninsula of India.—He looked to the success of this project, with doating fondness, as the means of gratifying the passion for fame with which he burned, and gaining him that absolute ascendancy in the army and the state to which he aspired.

Having conferred with the directory on the subject and made his arrangements with them, he embarked at Toulon, on board a fleet of thirteen ships of the line, commanded by admiral Brueys, with near 20,000 veteran troops,‡ provided with every kind of apparatus that could contribute to his success.

After the general had made an easy conquest of Malta, the possession of which was of the utmost importance in the execution of his design,† he proceeded

† June 9.

* Ann. Regist. 123. 25.

† Idem. 126.

‡ Idem. 1799. 6.

proceeded on his voyage; and, having effected his landing on the Egyptian coast, he took Alexandria* by storm with less than an hundred men killed and wounded.* 1798

To conciliate the amity of the inhabitants, Buonaparte, as on every similar occasion, speciously declared, that he came not, as a conqueror, to oppress the people, but, as an avenger, to free them from the tyranny of the beys,** and to drive out the mamelukes, who were ready to support these chiefs in every revolt against the Porte, and who were declared enemies to France.***

Agreeably

* Denon gives us the following melancholy and uninviting description of this city. "Every thing was new to our sensations; the soil, the form of the buildings, the persons, customs, and language of the inhabitants. The first prospect which presented itself to our view was an extensive burying-ground, covered with innumerable tombstones of white marble, on a white soil. Among these monuments were seen wandering several meagre women, with long tattered garments, resembling so many ghosts. The silence was only interrupted by the screeching of the kites which hovered over this sanctuary of death. We passed from thence into narrow and deserted streets. In crossing Alexandria, the description which Volney has given of that city was brought to my remembrance; form, colour, and sensation, every thing, in short, is represented by him with such a degree of truth, that, on looking over his work some months after, I fancied that I was entering Alexandria once more."—*Denon's Travels in Egypt*. 1. 59.

** D'Herbelot gives the following account of the office of *bey*. "It is a Turkish word," says he, "which signifies *seigneur* (lord) but is particularly applied to a *seigneur de banniere*, (a lord banneret) which is also called *sangiakbeghi*, or *bey*, in the Turkish language.—*Sangiak*, which signifies banner or standard among the Turks, is the distinction of one who commands in some considerable place of some province. He is the commander or chief of a certain number of *spahis* or cavaliers, kept by the province, to whom they give the name of *timariots* also, on account of the *timars* or commands which they are invested with.—Each province of the Turkish empire is divided into several of these *sangiaks*."—The same author gives us the following account of the *mamelukes*, or *mamlouks*.—"The word in Arabic signifies a slave in general: but it has been particularly applied to those Turkish or Circassian slaves which the kings of the race of Saladin caused to be trained to the profession of arms and invested with military commissions; which afterwards became masters of Egypt, and are well known to our historians by the name of *mamelus*."—*Bibliothèque Orientale*.

*** The writer of *Memoires sur l'Egypte* gives some features of the characters of the Arabs deserving of notice. "The Arabs," says he, "who had attacked the advanced guard of the army in the morning, sent a deputation to deliver up some French soldiers who had fallen into their hands. They declared that, as the French came to make war only with the *mamelukes*, and came not to make war with the Arabs, nor to take their women, nor to change their religion, they could not be their enemy.—Buonaparte ate bread with them; entered into treaty with them; and made them presents. They received the presents; which were, indeed, the object of their visit; they expressed their sense of gratitude; and then swore to be faithful to their alliance . . . and they afterwards returned to pillage all the French who fell in their way."—*Memoires sur l'Egypte*. 2. p. 6.

* *Memoires sur l'Egypte*. 2. p. 6.

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Agreeably with this declaration, the executive directory recommended the enterprise to the public approbation by representing it as undertaken to promote the welfare of the Ottoman Porte, as well as that of an injured people, by freeing that state from the tyranny of Murad and Ibrahim Beys; who, bidding defiance to the sultan, had oppressed the Egyptians, and had been guilty of extortion towards the French merchants, and had insulted their consul. "The authority of the Porte was totally disowned," said they in an address to the council of five hundred. "It will receive from the hands of the victorious French the immense advantages of which it has been long deprived. Finally, for the good of the whole world, Egypt will become the country in the whole universe richest in productions, the centre of immense trade, and, above all, *a most formidable post against the most odious power of the English in India, and their usurped commerce.*"^{*}—This friendly and public spirited enterprise, it ought to be remarked, was entered upon without the knowledge and contrary to the wishes of the sultan whose interests it was intended to promote. Of the sincerity of the professions by which its authors would have justified it in the eyes of the world the subsequent events will enable us to judge; in the mean-time, we must attend to the progress of Buonaparte in his reduction of Egypt.^{*}

Having provided for the defence of his acquisitions on the coast, he advanced, with his army, commanded under himself, by generals Desaix and Rampon, towards Cairo, the capital, situated on the Nile, about one hundred miles from its mouths.—Murad Bey, after harassing him on his march, drew out his army, on the plains of the pyramids, consisting of about 20,000 mamelukes, mounted on the finest horses of the country, splendidly armed and accoutred.^{*}—A battle ensued; in which the mamelukes made their first onset with their accustomed impetuosity, but were, in the result, obliged to retire with the loss of 2000 men.—In consequence of this victory, Buonaparte made himself master of Cairo; where he invited the people to support his cause by proclaiming peace and amity towards

^{*} "Nothing," says Walsh, "can equal the grand and splendid appearance of this cavalry. Their horses are well made, strong, sleek, and plump, very sure footed, and stately in their attitudes, and having altogether the most beautiful appearance. The magnificence of the trappings,

[†] State Papers. 260.

^{*} Idem. 270.

towards them, with security in the enjoyment of their laws, their rights, and their religion.^a 1798

As soon as the commander had entered upon his purposed organization, by the appointment of a divan, or council, consisting of seven chief persons, for the administration of police,^b he marched against Ibrahim Bey, who was retiring towards Syria; and, overtaking him near the frontiers of that country, he attacked and defeated him, after a battle sustained with much bravery by the Bey.^c

During these operations of the French general, admiral lord St. Vincent, who was employed in the blockade of Cadiz, conformably with his instructions, on intelligence that the Toulon fleet had sailed, detached rear-admiral sir Horatio Nelson, with fourteen sail of the line, in pursuit of it. — That commander sailed with this fleet, commanded under himself by sir James Saumarez, in the month of July. Having received some vague intelligence respecting the enemy's course from the Maltese, he steered towards the Egyptian coast. Some days had been spent in the pursuit when de Bruey's fleet, consisting of thirteen ships of the line and four frigates, was descried, close-moored in Aboukir bay, near Alexandria, for the defence of that port and the protection of Buonaparte's army. †

To attack a superior fleet in such a position was an action of the boldest and most arduous nature. But the occasion was adequate to the hazard of it. The French fleet must be defeated, or the enemy would establish themselves in Egypt, and would prosecute their designs against the English settlements and commerce in India. What under other circumstances,

† August 1.

“trappings, with which they are covered, is amazing, and the saddles and housings glitter with gold and silver, almost dazzling the eyes of the astonished spectator. Indeed, a mameluke may be said to carry all his wealth about him, his horse, his sword and pistols, beautifully wrought and inlaid with silver; are worth very great sums, and constitute the chief part of his riches.

“These horses, as well as all those to be found in Egypt, have only two paces, the walk in which they step out well, and a full gallop. They are accustomed to stop dead short when going full speed; this is effected by means of the most severe bit in the world, which throws back the horse upon his haunches; but this practice very soon ruins their legs, and it is seldom they can hold out against it for any length of time.”—*Walsh's Account of the Expedition to Egypt.*

^a Ann. Regist. 1799. 11. and Mem. sur. l'Egypte.

^b State Papers. 265.

^c Ann. Regist. 1800. and Life of Buonaparte. 44.

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cumstances would, perhaps, have been rashness, became, under these, a warrantable act of bravery and patriotism.—Not a moment, therefore, was lost by the gallant commanders to prepare for action: and a more solemn and interesting sight cannot be imagined than was exhibited by the fleet bearing slowly down to the attack, in the evening of the ever memorable first of august.—To preclude a possibility of the enemy's evading an action by approaching nearer the shore, it was determined, in defiance of the extreme danger of such an evolution, to break their line with part of our ships, and get between them and the coast.—The goliath led the way, and was followed by the zealous, the orion, the theseus, and the audacious; which, after piercing their line, shortened sail, and hauling round to the enemy, each chose his antagonist, raking the French ships which they passed in taking their respective stations. The admiral's ship, the vanguard, took its station on the outside of the enemy's line. Being followed by the remainder of his ships, a close engagement ensued, which lasted several hours after the day was closed.—In less than two hours, two of the French ships were taken and three were dismasted. The darkness was now interrupted only by the flashes of fire from the ships in action and from the enemy's batteries and gun-boats; and the stillness of night rendered the roar of artillery with which the shores resounded more tremendous. In the midst of this awful scene, the French admiral's ship, the l'orient, took fire, and blew up with a dreadful explosion.—After a short pause, which terror seemed to impose on the combatants, the firing was renewed, and continued till three o'clock in the morning.—The returning light displayed the havock which had been made during the night; at which time there were but four French ships of the line that had their colours flying.—The action, which had raged with the greatest fury with the enemy's van, then shifted towards the rear, and was faintly carried on by the crippled ships during the ensuing day. A detail of the incidents would be uninteresting: but it is deserving of notice, that the brave captain Trowbridge's ship, the culloden, which had run aground in the beginning of the engagement, was now, at length, disengaged.—On the morning of the third day, the tonnant alone remained on the scene of action: and, being dismasted, she was obliged to strike to the theseus and leander.—Such was the event of a battle, the most decisive in itself, and the most important in its consequences, of any upon record.

record. Of the whole French fleet, only two ships of the line and two frigates escaped. Of the remainder, nine ships of the line were taken, two ships and a frigate were burned, and one was sunk.^d—The fame of this victory, being instantly carried to the remotest parts of Europe, at the same time that it added to the renown of British valour and seamanship, had an immediate influence on the councils of several of its states. When the courts of Vienna and Naples saw that the French navy was again reduced to a wreck; and that Buonaparte's army was deprived of its protection, they no longer concealed their hostile intentions; the emperor of Russia was encouraged by it to enter into a treaty of alliance with Great Britain before the close of this year; ||^e and the grand seignior no longer repressed the indignation which he had felt when informed that the French, under a shew of friendship to him, were preparing to supplant him in his sovereignty in Egypt, and, with a view of restraining their progress, he concluded an alliance with the court of Petersburg, for their mutual defence.[†] ^f

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In the autumn, the king of Naples, willing to avail himself of the present weakness of the French army in Italy, took the field at the head of an army commanded by the Austrian general Mack, and penetrated into the territories of the Roman republic; ‡ whilst a division of the British fleet made a diversion in his favour by taking possession of Leghorn.

This movement had a fatal influence on the fortunes of his Sardinian majesty.—Warm disputes had taken place between the French garrison in the citadel of Turin and the Piedmontese, who felt with indignation the pusillanimity of their sovereign: but the weak, disarmed monarch had given no just cause of offence to the great nation. Yet the directory, impressed with a persuasion of his enmity from a consciousness of the injuries they had done him, and sensible of the danger which threatened their newly-established power in Italy should he resume his arms and join the Austrians and Neapolitans, resolved to prevent such an event by at once making themselves masters of Piedmont. Unrestrained by the antiquated principle of public faith, they compelled the king to renounce the exercise of his sovereign power, † and, ordering his subjects to obey the provisional

|| In December. † December 23. ‡ November 23. † December 9.

^d Annual Register. 140. 48.

^e State Papers. 1799. 211.

^f Idem. 1798. 237.

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1798 sional government to be established by the French general, to repair to the island of Sardinia.^a

The events of this short campaign, in the mean-time, proved very disgraceful to the Neapolitans.—Mack had possessed himself of a considerable extent of country. But as soon as the French generals had collected their forces, they advanced to the encounter in defiance of their enemy's great superiority of number; confident that their own superior prowess would more than compensate this disadvantage. After defeating his detachments in several actions, generals Macdonald and Mathieu, attacking Mack himself in his intrenchments near Civita Castellana, gained a complete victory; and, having taken 8000 of his men, they forced him to retire to Naples, and put himself on the defensive for the protection of that capital.^b

SPAIN.

1798 SPAIN was now in that distressed and abject state to which every kingdom may reasonably expect to be reduced which suffers itself to be degraded from the station in society which it has a right to fill. It had lost its strength by the united influence of despotism, superstition, and an influx of wealth without industry. A consciousness of weakness, and a diffidence in the affections of his subjects, had induced don Ferdinand to submit to a treaty which made him subservient to a power which he detested: and he was now destined to reap the fruits of his own pusillanimity and the demerit of those predecessors who had deprived the nation of its rights and brought the kingdom into its present state of decrepitude. Internal dissension contributed to the gloom which external disgrace had drawn over his realms. Whilst the French government was making him an unwilling agent in forwarding its schemes of ambition, its emissaries were continually employed in propagating republican principles in Spain. And so palpable were the defects of the whole system of government both civil and ecclesiastical,

^a State Papers. 274.

^b Annual Register. 181.

siastical, so notorious was its inconsistency with every idea of expediency or utility, that it needed no rhetoric to dispose the Spaniards to concur in any scheme which promised to redeem them from their degraded condition, and reinstate them in their personal rights and national importance.— Had the French republicans conducted themselves with moderation, had they exhibited in their own country the happy effects of liberty, had they not, on the contrary, raised the indignation of mankind by their outrages against the laws and rights of nations, and frightened them by the abuses of power which they committed under the cover of republican principles, the revolutionary doctrines now preached by their emissaries might have proved fatal to despots. This misconduct on their part has checked the progress of their principles; and has afforded absolute monarchs a season for reflection, and for introducing such salutary reforms as may save their governments from destruction.—In the mean-time the catholic king trembled on his throne: whilst he was perpetually alarmed with intelligence of the unquiet state of the Spanish provinces, he was constrained to merit the forbearance of a hateful foreign oppressor by an abject submission to his dictates.*

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ITALY.

SEE the history of Naples and the Italian States blended with that of France.

1798

GENEVA.

EVEN after the Genevese were constrained to submit to the overruling power of France, they were indulged with a shadow of independency, at the

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* "Let no man despise thee," is an admonition as deserving the regard of a politician as of a moralist, and is as applicable to a state as it is to an individual.—Agreeably with the sentiment conveyed in it, it may be observed that a sovereign or a government which renders itself deserving of contempt by its base or pusillanimous conduct will seldom fail to have its deserts.

1798 { the mercy of the French government, till that state should think proper to deprive them of it. That time was now arrived. The partisans of France either were, or feigned to be, of opinion, that this small state would be happier and more flourishing as a member of the French dominions than in the enjoyment of its present ideal independency, which, without freedom of action, would afford them a source of internal distraction; without the blessings of liberty, would perpetuate those evils with which it had been alloyed. So prevalent were these sentiments that when commissioners were appointed to treat of an incorporation, and the question was proposed in the general assembly, a majority of 3197 against 2204 appeared in favour of the union: Geneva was then declared by the supreme council to be incorporated in the French republic,[†] and a treaty of union was soon after ratified by the French government.—Felix Desportes, the French commissioner, then, placed within the city, at the desire of the partisans of the union, 1200 men, commanded by general Gerard, which he told the directory, in a letter addressed to them, “ were sufficient to repress the “ fury of the brigands who threatened to destroy the friends of France.”*

PRUSSIA.

1798 { It was now the grand object of the courts of London and Petersburg to prevail on his Prussian majesty to join the confederacy which his father had deserted. His determination in their favour was to render the present provisional treaty between them conclusive, and was therefore of the greatest importance to the allied cause. But Frederic William, whose disposition appears to have in it more of prudence than enterprise, reflected that he came to the throne with the task incumbent on him of remedying the financial embarrassment which had been occasioned by the late king's warlike enterprises, and his expensive pleasures, and his ease in suffering his favourites to enrich themselves by pilfering from the treasury. This he knew was to be done only by strict economy and perseverance in
 pacific

† April 27.

* Annual Register. 1799. 102.

1798
 pacific councils. Regarding the prosperity of his own realms, therefore, more than the general welfare or the interests of monarchy, he declined an active interference in the contest; preparing to take the dignified part of mediator should an occasion offer itself, and peaceably to reap the fruits of his father's policy respecting France.*

RUSSIA.

1798
 WHATEVER motives had induced the emperor to observe a neutrality at his accession to the throne, they were now superseded by those which recommended warlike measures. Such had been the unexampled successes of the French arms that the terror of them had reached the remotest parts of Europe. Those powers which had tamely submitted to France had convinced the world by their example that submission, without conciliating the friendship of that tyrannical state, only served to seal their disgrace.—Agreeably with these impressions, Paul, when he experienced the insolence of the French government and was informed of Buonaparte's successful invasion of Egypt, became decidedly hostile to that state.—On information that the executive directory had, in the pride which prosperous fortune inspired, declared “that, if any ship be suffered to pass the Sound with English commodities on board, it shall be considered as a formal declaration of war against the French nation,” he ordered twenty-two ships of the line and two hundred and fifty galleys to proceed to the Sound, to protect trade against the oppression of the directory. †^a

Agreeably with the same principles, when the knights of Malta, indignant at the late capitulation consented to by Hompesch, their grand master, with the French general, offered to throw themselves under his protection, he not only courteously accepted their overtures, and was elected their grand master, but gave his imperial word to maintain the order in its institutions, privileges, and honours, and to employ all the means in his power for its re-establishment in the respectable state which it had held. ‡^b

This

† May 15.

Segur. 3. 226. and Ann. Reg. 1799. 76.

‡ August 26.

^a State Papers. 237.

^b Idem. 275. 7.

1798 This was followed by still more resolute measures. Towards the close of this year,|| a provisional treaty of alliance was concluded by the emperor with his Britannic majesty, by which Paul engaged to send 45,000 men, with proper artillery into the field, on receiving £.225,000 to defray the first expences, and £.75,000 per month, after his troops should pass the Russian frontier.*

Moreover, when the Turkish court was filled with consternation at the rapid progress of the French arms in Egypt, the emperor entered into a defensive alliance with the Porte, whereby they reciprocally guaranteed each other's possessions.†^d

TURKEY.

1798 THE grand seignior, who was sensible of the advantages arising from the friendship of France, observed a strict neutrality in the present contest in Europe as long as he was suffered to remain unmolested. But when he was informed of the intrigues of the French agents in India, and of the correspondent movements of Buonaparte in Egypt, regardless of the first professions by which the French government would have deceived him while their forces were establishing themselves in that country, and cautioned by the fatal effects of their friendly embraces in other instances, he adopted measures to counteract the designs of a power whose ambition threatened destruction to his empire.—With that view he addressed a friendly letter to Tippoo Sultan,‡ acquainting him with the invasion of Egypt; declaring his resolution to employ the most effectual measures to expel the invaders; admonishing the Indian prince of the danger which threatened him from the intrigues, the treachery, and deceit of the French; and informing him of the friendship now subsisting between himself and the British government, and their intentions to oppose a barrier to the excesses of a nation which considered all thrones, and every system of civil order and religious faith, as the sport of their boundless ambition.*

Actuated

|| December 18.

† December 23.

‡ September 22.

* State Papers. 223.

^d Idem. 237.

• Wood's Appendix. Paper C.

Actuated by the same principles and persuasions, when the Spanish ambassador, as if in testimony of his sovereign's subserviency to France, united with the French ambassador in his endeavours to prevail on the sultan to promote, or to acquiesce in, the enterprises of the French in Egypt, the reis effendi, with a dignity worthy of the Ottoman emperor in whose name he spoke, replied to him, "I am sorry to find the king of Spain become the tool of men who murdered his family and shake a sabre over his own head."—The French envoy was then sent, as an hostage, to the seven towers, and the Spanish ambassador ordered to leave Constantinople.^b

1798

These manifestations of the line of policy which the sultan meant to pursue were followed by more resolute measures and more vigorous exertions towards the close of this year, when the signal victory gained by admiral Nelson reanimated the enemies of France.—Selim then concluded a treaty with the emperor of Russia for their mutual defence,[†] and, declaring his indignation at the proceedings of the French government, made active preparations for war.^c

EAST INDIES.

THE secret intrigues which Tippoo Sultan had carried on with the representatives of the French government in the East were disclosed by a proclamation which general Malartic, governor-general of the isles of France, issued at the opening of this year.[‡]—This act of state, the precipitate publication of which, at this time, implies either an ill-judged zeal in the sultan's cause, or a desire to promote the interests of the French republic at the expence of that prince, by embroiling Great Britain in a war with him, was intended to make the people of the French islands acquainted with the result of the negotiations with the Mysorean monarch, and to invite them to join his standard. "The prince," he says, "desires to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, and proposes to

1798

[†] December 23.[‡] January 30.^b Ann. Regist. 1799. 70.^c Idem.

1798 " to maintain at his charge, as long as the war shall last in India, the
 " troops which may be sent to him. He proposes to furnish every neces-
 " sary for carrying on the war, wine and brandy excepted, with which he
 " is wholly unprovided." After speaking of the accommodations which
 Tippoo engaged to find them, " in a word," he says, " the sultan only
 " waits the moment when the French shall come to his assistance, to
 " declare war against the English, whom he ardently desires to expel from
 " India."—He then informs them that it was impossible for him to reduce
 the regular regiments, then under his command, and warmly invites the
 citizens, and free citizens of colour, to enroll themselves, to serve under
 the banners of Tippoo Sultan.^a

The affairs of the East were in this critical state, when lord Mornington, afterwards created marquis of Wellesley, arrived at Calcutta, to take on him the chief government; †^b a nobleman whose experience in all the business of the civil and political departments qualified him for a station which had been so worthily filled by the marquis of Cornwallis.

The governor was officially informed of Malartic's proclamation by lord Macartney, at the Cape. This left him no longer any doubt respecting the hostile designs of Tippoo Sultan: and the movements of Zemaun Shâh gave him reason to apprehend that he was to concur in the execution of them. Moreover, he had received intelligence that a strong fleet was fitting out at Toulon, which, it was supposed, might be destined to co-operate, in some way or other, with these confederates.—Whilst he was contemplating these complicated dangers, and concerting with his council the means of averting them, his distress was heightened by intelligence from Madras that the forces on that establishment were so dispersed that it would require several months to assemble and equip them.

Debarred from practising that promptitude which is often decisive of the event of military enterprises, he had recourse to expedients, to embarrass the measures of his enemies, and, if possible, to deprive them of a part of the resources on which they relied.—He knew that they depended on effecting a revolution in the Nizam's councils, and making that state subservient to their views, with the concurrence of the body of troops commanded by
 monsieur

† May 18.

^a Wood. Appendix. A.

^b Asiatic Ann. Regist. Chron. 6.

monsieur Perou. Therefore, while the Madras government were expediting his orders for assembling an army at Vellore, he dispatched 4000 men to Hyderabad; which executed his orders with so much address, that the French corps was completely surrounded and disarmed without bloodshed or tumult, || and 6000 British troops were substituted for them.—Thus auspiciously were our movements on this important scene of action commenced, with an exploit that deprived Tippoo of a body of forces from which he expected essential service in his meditated invasion of the Carnatic. —Nor was this the only event that cheered the spirits of the British partisans. While they were congratulating themselves on it, the cloud which was rising in the Mediterranean was happily dispersed by the signal victory which admiral Nelson obtained over the French fleet off the Nile, † intelligence of which arrived in India before the close of the present year.

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WEST INDIES.

BRAVERY and discipline could no longer enable the British forces, now reduced to a mere band of men, to maintain their ground against a strong army of French troops and Indians, under general Toussaint,* now commander

1798

|| October 22.

† August 1.

* Wood's Review. 11.

* "Toussaint Louverture was a negroe, a native of St. Domingo. He was born a slave. His master, a rich planter, carried him to France, when young, where he remained for some time. As he discovered early a good understanding, more attention was paid to his education than usual. He returned to St. Domingo, where he still continued a slave, till the troubles commenced. Amidst the events of the revolution, Toussaint discovered his talents, on many occasions. At last he was chosen by his brethren, commander of a black army, consisting of 100,000 men, accustomed to the climate, and, by this time, not a little inured to war. To the talents of a general and politician, Toussaint joins more valuable qualities, moderation, gratitude, and humanity; of which, the following anecdotes are proofs. Although he was really absolute monarch of St. Domingo, yet he concluded the treaty with general Maitland, not as an independent chief, but in the name of the French republic: and, although he was under no control, or superior authority, he desired to be considered a citizen of France, and only wished to be recognised (appointed) by the directory, to the command which he had already obtained.

" During

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1798 } mander in chief, whose character we shall soon be made acquainted with by his exploits against the arms of France.—After repeated encounters, in which they were generally overpowered by the infinite superiority of their enemy's numbers, general Maitland, by treaty between himself and Toussaint,† agreed to evacuate St. Domingo, and to leave the works then in possession of the English in perfect order, on condition that the French general should guarantee the lives and properties of all the inhabitants who might choose to remain.*

A field was now opened to the enterprising spirit of Toussaint; who was endowed with the talents of a soldier, and was actuated by those feelings of patriotism, and that high sense of natural right, which the ruling powers in France professed.—He was sensible of the ascendancy which he enjoyed among the negroes, and was determined to deliver them from oppression. This, however, he was desirous to accomplish without violence, and wished only to be considered as a citizen of France, and to be continued in the command by the appointment of the French government.‡

AMERICAN STATES.

1798 } THE displeasure which the French government felt on account of the determination of the American states to neutrality, which was considered as friendly to Great Britain, was evinced by a decree published at the opening of this year, to enforce that of 1796, ordaining “that all ships “having for their cargoes any English merchandise shall be held lawful “prizes, whoever be the proprietor of the merchandise; which shall be “held contraband from the single circumstance of their coming from “England

“During the disturbances, his master retired to the continent of America; and Toussaint “remitted to him as often as possible, the produce of his estates. As these did not arrive regularly, his master returned to St. Domingo, and, at the evacuation, was about to accompany “general Maitland to Jamaica, when Toussaint sent for him, and gave him all his property, and “negroes, and shewed him the affection of a child, as he had formerly received from him the “care and attention of a real father.”—*Annual Register*. 249.

† In May.

* *Ann. Regist.* 248.

‡ *Idem.* 248. 9.

“ England or any of its foreign settlements.”^c—Moreover, as a testimony of their inveterate malice towards England, “ they enacted that the harbours of France should be shut against all ships except in case of extreme distress, which had touched at any English port, and that neutral sailors found on board English vessels should be put to death.”

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The American government, in the mean-time, steadily pursuing their pacific principles, dispatched Mr. Pinckney as their envoy to Paris in the late year, to effect an amicable accommodation of the matters in dispute between them.—And when an audience was refused him by the ministry, the president, supposing that his repulse might have been occasioned by personal dislike, dispatched two envoys extraordinary to join him in his negotiations. But the result proved that his conjectures were erroneous.—We have witnessed in many instances the marauding practices of the French government. But this negotiation proved to all the world that, together with the most notorious rapacity, it was disgraced with the most profligate venality and corruption.—After some unsuccessful attempts to obtain an audience of the directory, the difficulty of which was studiously enhanced by an affectation that they had taken offence at some passages in the late president’s parting address to the congress, the mystery was developed by one of the secret agents employed by Talleyrand to negotiate between him and the American envoys.—On his signifying that he could suggest a means of appeasing the anger of the directory, and his being desired by Mr. Pinckney to communicate it, he replied “ that the directory, and “ particularly two of the members of it, were exceedingly irritated at “ some passages in the president’s speech, and desired that they should be “ softened; and that this step would be necessary previous to our recep- “ tion; that, beside this, a sum of money was required for the pocket of “ the directory and ministers, which would be at the disposal of M. “ Talleyrand, and that a loan would also be insisted on.”^d Upon further explanation it was declared that the sum required for the ministers was 12,000,000 livres, about £50,000: and that the loan required was £1,333,000, for which the French government proposed to give 16,000,000 of Dutch rescriptions at par, which the Dutch, after the peace, would certainly repay, with an interest of five per cent.*^e

The

^c Ann. Reg. 242.^d State Papers. 281.^e Idem. 307.

* In one of the conferences with Talleyrand’s agent, the latter, after speaking of the resentment

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The requisition of the loan was afterwards made and earnestly insisted on by Talleyrand himself in the repeated conferences held by him with the American ministers. In reply to which they objected, among other reasons for declining compliance, that to lend a large sum for the carrying on the war was inconsistent with the neutrality which the states professed. —When they still declared their incompetency to consent to such requisitions, it was at last agreed that Mr. Gerry should remain in France, and Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Marshall should return to America and consult their government upon the subject of their negotiations.

On their arrival, the president laid the purport of their conferences with the French minister, together with the late decree of the French government respecting their trade, before the congress,† with an expression of just indignation at the treatment which their ministers had received in France and the whole conduct of the French government, in which he was joined by the assembly.‡—Resolutions were then passed, to adopt the most effectual means for the preservation of that independency, of which France had discovered a disposition to deprive them. Being forced by this insolence to abandon the pacific councils which they had hitherto strictly adhered to, they instantly gave orders for the equipment of vessels of war for the protection of their trade, and prepared for the establishment of such a marine force as might render the American flag respected.§—Orders were also given for an augmentation of the military establishment. And we find the venerable Washington once more consenting to leave his retirement, and to take on him the command of their forces: “In a moment like the present,” said he in a letter to the congress, “when every thing we hold
“ dear

ment felt by the French government, and the manner of removing it, “But,” continued he, “gentlemen, I will not disguise from you, that, this satisfaction being made, the essential part of the treaty remains to be adjusted: ‘*il faut de l’argent—il faut beau-coup d’argent*:—you must pay money; you must pay a great deal of money.’ He spoke much of the force, the honour, and the jealous republican pride of France; and represented to us strongly the advantages which we should derive from the neutrality thus to be purchased. He said, that the receipt of the money might be so disguised as to prevent its being considered as a breach of neutrality by England: and thus save us from being embroiled with that power. Concerning the twelve hundred thousand livres, little was said; that being completely understood, on all sides, to be required for the officers of government, and therefore needing no farther explanation. These propositions, he said, were considered as the admitted basis of the proposed treaty.”—*Annual Register. State Paper.* 284.

† June 21.

‡ *Idem.* 309. 16.§ *Annual Register.* 246.

" dear and sacred is so seriously threatened, I have finally determined to
" accept the command in chief of the armies of the United States, with ¹⁷⁹⁸
" the reserve only that I shall not be called into the field, till the army is
" in a situation to require my presence."^a

When these transactions were made public, all Europe was filled with astonishment at the disclosure of such a scene of venality in the French cabinet.—Talleyrand, after some delay, published his defence; in which he attempts to refute the charge—calling it " a deplorable monument of credulity and contradictions."¹—It rests with the reader to make his choice between the representations of three American ministers on the one hand, and that of monsieur Talleyrand on the other, who must either deny the charge, or be branded with eternal infamy.

GREAT

^a State Papers, 318.¹ Annual Register, 247.

GREAT BRITAIN AND HOLLAND.

1799.

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IT had long since been observed and lamented that the kingdom of Ireland, owing to deep-rooted evils arising from religious tenets, from social habits, and political circumstances, had not kept pace with other countries in those agricultural improvements, that advancement in commercial wealth, and that civilization and refinement of manners, which are essential to national prosperity. And it was now seen that our enemies, availing themselves of the wretchedness and discontent originating in these causes, were labouring, by secret artifice and open force, to effect a separation of Ireland from the British crown; well-knowing that, in the present state of Europe, such a country could not maintain its independency, and that, if disunited from Great Britain, it must become dependent on France. This had been evinced not only in the insurrection which had taken place here in the late year, but in the intrigues which had been carried on with our enemy by the disaffected in different parts of the British dominions.—As the best preparation for a gradual removal of these evils, and the most effectual mean for strengthening the hands of government, it was now proposed to render the empire more entire and compact by an union of the British kingdoms, on the broad basis of an equality of interests, an equality of privileges, and a unity of power.

This was brought forward by a message from his majesty to the two houses; in which, after adverting to the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevered in their avowed design of accomplishing the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, he recommends it to the legislative

legislative bodies "to provide in the manner which they shall judge most
 "expedient for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best
 "tend to improve and perpetuate a connexion essential to their common
 "security, and to augment and consolidate the strength, power, and
 "resources of the British empire."^a—Mr. Dundas, as secretary of state,
 having laid several papers before the legislature relative to the pro-
 ceedings of certain societies in Ireland and the rebellion in that country,
 then moved for an address to his majesty,† importing that the house would
 proceed, with all due dispatch, to a consideration of this important
 subject.

In the warm debate which ensued, Mr. Sheridan delivered, with his usual
 animation, his reasons for opposing the measure. He deprecated it as a
 measure which, he was confident, his countrymen would disapprove as
 inconsistent with their independency—as an union which must be accom-
 plished by surprise, fraud, corruption, and intimidation, and which would
 place the Irish nation in a worse condition than they were before. He
 asserted that the parliament of Ireland was independent; that there was no
 power whatever competent to make laws for that country.—He opposed it,
 he said, as an infraction and violation of the acknowledged independence
 of Irish legislation; because he was of opinion that the union could not
 prevent the separation of that country by France; and because it was not
 possible, in the present state of Ireland, that the people could declare and
 act upon their genuine sentiments. Upon these grounds he moved an
 amendment, imploring his majesty "not to listen to the counsels of those
 "who shall advise or promote such a measure at the present crisis, and
 "under the present circumstances of the empire."^b

The premier, in answer to these objections, maintained the competency
 of the legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland to sanction the proposed
 incorporation; and adduced the precedent which the Scottish union
 afforded.—He vindicated the government from the charge of accom-
 plishing the measure by surprise, by saying that a proper interval would be
 allowed before they took the sense of parliament upon the subject.—
 He recommended the union as the most effectual means for reclaiming
 Ireland

† January 22.

^a State Papers. 207. ap. Ann. Regist.

^b Ann. Regist. 204.

1799 Ireland from its deplorable state of distraction, and misery. "The evils
 " with which Ireland was afflicted," he said, " lay deep in the situation of
 " the country. They were to be attributed to the manners of its inhabitants,
 " to the state of society, to the habits of the people at large, to the unequal
 " distribution of property, to the want of civilized intercourse, to the
 " jarring discord of party, and, above all, to the prejudices of religious
 " sects. This deplorable situation of the country was not to be remedied by
 " any act of the Irish parliament, but by gradual, sober, and dispassionate
 " improvement and civilization; by the circulation of capital; by the social
 " intercourse naturally arising from commerce; by the diffusion of social
 " habits; by the dissemination of liberal sentiment; by removing party
 " distractions; by suppressing factious associations; by allaying hereditary
 " feuds between two nations subsisting in the same island; and by the
 " extinction of religious prejudices. For such remedies we must look to
 " the provisions of an independent legislature, removed from the seat
 " of the complicated disease; which should not be partial to either party,
 " but the fair arbiter and kind parent of both; which should not be liable
 " to local influence, nor subject to popular incitement; and which should
 " be fully competent to make head against the lawless inroads of destruc-
 " tive innovation and anarchy."—The complicated grievances and defects
 in the state of the country he ascribed to the imperfection of the Irish
 constitution. "With respect to the confinement of property in a few
 " hands, the extraordinary disparity of rank, and the scanty means of social
 " improvement, all contributing to misery in one extreme and oppres-
 " sion in the other, how could these grievances be remedied but by a
 " closer connexion with Great Britain? The situation of Ireland must also
 " be remedied by an influx of capital and the circulation of wealth: and
 " whence were these to be supplied, but by assimilating it with Great
 " Britain? He did not merely say, let Ireland be united; but, let her be
 " blended with us, let her partake of every solid benefit, of every eminent
 " advantage that could result from such incorporation."

On the day appointed for further deliberations on this measure,† Mr.
 Pitt said, " that when he proposed it to the house the last time, in order
 " to

† January 31.

* Annual Register. 1808.

“ to fix the present day for its further consideration, he indulged a hope
 “ that the result of a similar communication to the parliament of Ireland
 “ would have opened a more favourable prospect, than at present existed,
 “ of its speedy accomplishment. But while he admitted and respected the
 “ rights of the parliament of Ireland, he felt that, as a member of the
 “ parliament of Great Britain, he also had a right to exercise and a duty
 “ to perform. That duty was to express, as distinctly as he could, the
 “ general nature and outline of the plan which, in his conscience, he
 “ thought would tend, in the strongest manner, to ensure the safety and
 “ happiness of both kingdoms. If parliament, after full explanation and
 “ mature deliberation, should be of the same opinion, he would propose
 “ that its determination should remain recorded as that by which the par-
 “ liament of Great Britain was ready to abide; leaving to the legislature
 “ of Ireland to reject or adopt it hereafter upon a full consideration of
 “ the measure.”^d

The premier then laid an outline of the plan of incorporation before
 the commons in the form of eight resolutions, the merits of which were
 repeatedly and elaborately discussed in both houses.—In the lower house,
 Mr. Dundas made an ample display of the benefits which might be expected
 to arise from the proposed union, adding the rapid increase of wealth and
 prosperity of the Scots, and the amelioration of their social condition, in
 support of his argument. “ It has been triumphantly asked,” said he,
 “ why not give all these advantages to Ireland without an union.”—
 “ Without an incorporating union,” he replied, “ they would be of no
 “ avail: for the strength and resources of both countries must be consoli-
 “ dated, in order to enable Ireland to reap the full advantage from such
 “ concessions. It is from confidence in the strength of government alone
 “ that a communication of capital and other advantages can arise. In
 “ addition to this it might be observed, that the English government could
 “ not, consistently with the duty they owed to their British fellow-subjects,
 “ make such concessions to Ireland under its present constitution and
 “ separate legislature. Concessions of such a nature could not be safely
 “ granted until an imperial parliament possessed the control over the
 “ resources

^d Annual Register, 210.

1799 "resources of the empire at large, and the power of applying them to
"imperial purposes."*

In the house of lords, the marquis of Lansdowne, among others whose extensive property interested them deeply in the welfare of Ireland, gave his approbation to the measure. "He had no doubt," he said, "but that both the landed and commercial interest would be benefited by an union, not only in some local respects, but on a general scale."†—The measure was opposed by the lords Moira and Holland. But the marquis of Townshend, the lord Hobart, the earls of Kinnoull, Carlisle, Westmoreland, and other peers spoke in support of it. Among these was the bishop of Landaff; who closed his harangue with these remarkable words. "I foresee," said he, "the time when, if this union take place, the whole state of Ireland will be changed. The overflowings of British capital will, on a peace, instead of finding its way into France or America, settle in Ireland. It will, in time, convert the bogs of that country into corn-fields; it will cover its barren mountains with forests; it will dig its mines, cut its canals, erect its fabricks, explore new channels of commerce and improve the old ones; in a word, by supplying labour, it will render the people industriously enlightened, contented, and happy."—This prophecy, if considered barely as possible, must have cheered the spirits of every friend to the peace and welfare of the two kingdoms: and it must have derived weight with the audience from the venerable character, the extensive information, and enlarged mind of the speaker.

The result of the deliberations on this interesting subject was a joint address, || assuring his majesty "that the two houses had proceeded, with the utmost attention, to a consideration of the important objects recommended in his gracious message."*

In the intervals of the deliberations on this measure of government, other affairs had been discussed by the legislature, and measures were adopted respecting them.—Provision was made for raising supplies adequate to the expenditure.¹—The affairs of the East India company underwent a review; particularly what related to the expenditure of the company and the state of its accounts.²—And various methods were adopted for providing

|| In April.

* Annual Register, 220.

† Idem, 227,

§ Idem, 212, 34.

¶ Idem, 174.

‡ Idem, 193.

ing for the national defence; by an augmentation of the supplemental militia and volunteer corps, to enable government to employ the regular troops in Ireland, or on foreign service.—Moreover, that the war might be prosecuted with increased vigour, a treaty of alliance had been entered into with the Russian emperor, at the close of the late year, † by which the contracting parties proposed to employ all their endeavours to induce the king of Prussia to take an active part in the war against the common enemy.—His imperial majesty engaged to send 45,000 men, infantry and cavalry, into the field, with the necessary artillery. And to convince the Prussian monarch that those copious sources were not exhausted which had so often watered the arid, absorbent sands of Brandenburg, he was invited to rejoin the confederacy against France by the liberality of the British government in its pecuniary supplies. By this treaty his Britannic majesty engaged to pay the emperor, for the first and most urgent expences, the sum of £225,000; and also a subsidy of £75,000 a month, to be computed from the day on which the troops should pass the Russian frontier. The contracting parties also engaged not to make either peace or armistice without including each other, and without concerting with each other.^b

For an account of the events of this complicated campaign, on the continent and in Egypt, which may be considered as the result of these measures of the British government, the reader is referred to the history of France; where the transactions of the belligerent powers, particularly at the congress at Rastadt, and the operations of their armies at the different seats of war, are brought together in one point of view. But there is one expedition which is connected with these only as it made a diversion in favour of the allied armies in other quarters, and is more essentially a part of the English history.—The Dutch provinces had been overpowered by Pichegru's army, in 1794, through the Prussian monarch's base desertion of the confederate cause, and the prevalence of a party in the states which had been long labouring to undermine the British interests, and to convince the nation of the vast advantages which they would derive from an alliance with France. They had been gratified by their conqueror with

a shew

† December 18. 1798.

^b State Papers, 223. ap. Annual Register. 1798.

1799 a shew of independency; because it was thought that this would be more advantageous to the French republic than an incorporation with it. But, instead of the promised benefits, they had experienced nothing but the most arbitrary demeanour and enormous exactions from their pretended friends. It was presumed that their eyes were now opened to their true interests, by observation as well as experience; and that they would gladly unite in delivering themselves from this miserable thralldom.—Upon that presumption, chiefly, a plan was concerted, between the courts of London and Petersburg, for a joint expedition to deprive the French of their ascendancy in Holland, and enable the friends to the allied cause to declare themselves; an achievement by which a very valuable acquisition would be made to the coalition.

With a view to the attainment of these objects, admiral Mitchel sailed with a squadron from Deal,† on board of which was the first division of the British forces, consisting of 12,000 men, commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie, to join admiral Duncan, who was instructed to co-operate in the enterprise.

Their descent was made at the Helder Point, which forms one side of that mouth of the Zuyder Zee, opposite to which is the Texel island.‡ They were vigorously opposed by a strong body of French forces. But the British troops behaved with great firmness; and the landing was effected with the loss of 500 men, under cover of admiral Duncan's fleet.—The French garrison being withdrawn from Helder, a detachment was sent to take possession of that fortress: and one of the chief objects of the expedition was accomplished in consequence of this success, by the surrender of the Dutch fleet, consisting of eleven ships of the line, and some smaller vessels.¹—Their next object was Alcmaer, the principal fortress between Helder and Amsterdam.—General Brune, who was posted with a French and Dutch army of 25,000 men for its defence, being apprized of the reinforcements expected by the English general, determined to attack him before these should arrive.—An action ensued, in which the enemy were defeated with the loss of 2000 men, and retired to their station near Alcmaer.‖

Three

† August 13.

‡ August 25.

‖ September 10.

¹ History of the Campaign of 1799. 63.

■ Idem. 86.

Three days after, the duke of York, who was invested with the command in chief, arrived in Holland,† and the army was reinforced with 17,000 Russians and the second division of British troops.—The army then amounting to near 55,000 men; it was determined to bring the enemy to a battle.‡ —An attack was planned in four columns. That on the right, commanded by the Russian general d'Herman, consisting of twelve battalions of Russians, the seventh regiment of light dragoons and Manners's brigade, was destined to force its way towards Alcmaer by the way of Bergen.—The second column, under Dundas, was destined to force the enemy's posts at Walmenhausen and Schoreldam, and to co-operate with the Russians.—The third, under sir James Pulteney, was to gain Oud-Scarpel, a strong post on the road leading to Alcmaer.—The fourth, under sir Ralph Abercrombie, was to turn the enemy's right, posted on the Zuyder Zee.

1799

In the execution of this plan, the Russians, who were animated by the presence of an able general, advanced with much steadiness, and fought with exemplary courage. But such was the intrepidity with which they were received by the enemy, that having advanced too rapidly to be supported by the second column, they were constrained to retreat, after sustaining great slaughter, with the loss of general d'Herman, who was taken prisoner. —Could these brave men have received timely support, the victory would, probably, have been ours. But Dundas's division was detained so long by the intervening dykes, that, although eventually successful, it could not reach the destined point till the Russians were repulsed.—These were solicited to come again into action. But, as they had borne the brunt of the battle, and had lost a great part of their division, they chose to leave the honour of recovering the day to their confederates, and the consequence was a defeat on the part of the allies.*

The final success of the expedition, it was evident, must depend on the disposition of the Dutch nation. And this, although appearances had hitherto been unpropitious, was not so decidedly adverse as to deter the commander in chief from persevering in his attempt. His loss being repaired by a strong body of Russian troops and some English dragoons, he

† September 13.

‡ September 19.

* Campaign of 1799. 110. 16.

1799 he determined upon an effort to force his way into the provinces, that he might be enabled to afford protection to the partisans of the coalition.

Admiral Mitchel had co-operated with the land forces by approaching the coast of Zuyder Zee at Enchuysen, by receiving the obedience of the inhabitants to the prince of Orange, and reinstating his friends among the burgomasters in the magistracy. ||—This small success tended to revive the spirits of the troops, by impressing them with a favourable opinion respecting the amity of the Dutch nation.—After some delay on account of the inclemency of the weather, a second attack was made in four columns, commanded by Abercrombie, Essèn, who now commanded the Russians, Dundas, and sir James Pulteney. In this the allies were victorious: forcing the enemy to abandon their posts on the Lang Dyke and at Bergen, † they, in consequence of it, were enabled to advance the ensuing day, and possess themselves of the positions which the French had occupied near that fortress, Alcmaer, and Egmont-op-Zee.*

The enemy had lost 4000 men in this engagement. But the nature of the country, or the unfavourableness of the season and the diminished and exhausted state of the allied army, prevented their commander from making the advantage which was expected from a victory which had been obtained by the most determined bravery, and had been dearly purchased with the loss of 1500 men.—On intelligence that Brune had taken an advantageous position between Beverwick and the Zuyder Zee, however, and that he was expecting a strong reinforcement, it was determined to make a third attack before he should become a more formidable antagonist. Movements were made conformably with this resolution. ‡ In the action which ensued, the Russians, who were first engaged, were ably supported by sir Ralph Abercrombie. The battle became general, and was well supported on both sides. The enemy at last retreated. But the allies had no other ground for rejoicing on this occasion than the honour which they derived from a signal display of valour: having lost 1900 men, killed, disabled, and taken prisoners.

Brune having soon after received his reinforcement, and having possessed

|| September 21.

† October 1.

‡ October 4.

* Campaign of 1799. 151.

1799
 sessed himself of a very strong position in the neighbourhood of the posts to which the allies had advanced, and the weather becoming daily more unfavourable, it was deemed advisable to withdraw to the position which they had before occupied near Schagenbrug.—His royal highness then, not choosing to act on his own judgment or that of a council of war in his present embarrassment, dispatched his secretary to England, to lay the particulars of his situation before the ministry. ||—The result was, that a suspension of arms was agreed to in this quarter; and that the allied troops were embarked, with all possible dispatch, the British for England, and the Russians for Jersey and Guernsey.* And, as it frequently happens in unsuccessful enterprises, the different parties interested expressed their ill humour by mutual charges of misconduct.*

The failure of an enterprise on which very sanguine hopes of further successes had been raised was in a small degree compensated by an acquisition made, at this time, in the West Indies.—Lord Hugh Seymour, who commanded a squadron in that quarter, being informed that the Dutch settlement of Surinam in Guiana was weakly guarded, sailed, with a small body of troops on board, to make an attack on it.†—The colonists being well disposed to the British government, a surrender was immediately made, and a capitulation was signed on terms very advantageous to them.‡

Although Great Britain enjoyed the advantage of an insular situation in being exempt from the calamities incident on a seat of war, yet its government may be considered as the main spring from which all the members of the coalition derived their energy.—To provide resources, and enable the administration to employ its strength with the greatest advantage, the parliament was assembled early in the autumn.‡—In the course of a short session, several votes were passed respecting pecuniary matters for the accommodation of government, and a bill was passed to enlarge the force of

||: October 9. † August 20. ‡ September 24.

* The circumstance, above all others, which occasioned the ill success of this expedition appears to have been a disappointment of that co-operation which it was presumed the allies would have received from the Dutch nation. With this concurred the nature of the country, which was well calculated for defence, and, of course, unfavourable to the invaders.—The capture of the Russian general d'Herman, whose abilities had given him the entire confidence of his troops, and the subsequent misunderstanding which took place among the commanders, were also very unpropitious to the allied cause.

• Annual Register. 300, 311.

• Idem. 311.

1799 of a bill of the last session, which had enabled volunteers from the militia to enlist from the regulars, but had limited them to one-fourth, whereas this extended it to three-fifths.

FRANCE, ITALY, SWITZERLAND, GERMANY, AND RUSSIA.

1799 IN the course of the late campaign, we have seen the French republic triumphing over the independency of the neighbouring states under colour of restoring liberty to their subjects, and adding Switzerland and the states of the see of Rome to the countries which were under their absolute ascendancy: we have seen them despoiling the king of Sardinia of his dominions, and banishing him from his seat of government. During these events in Europe, we have seen Buonaparte invading Egypt at the head of a powerful army, with sanguine hopes of possessing himself of that country, and making Alexandria an emporium for the commerce between Europe and the East Indies. And, in the issue of a most eventful campaign, we have seen the powers of Europe awakened to a sense of the danger which threatened all existing establishments from the successes of France, and encouraged to adopt the most vigorous measures for the maintenance of their independency by the memorable victory which the English fleet under admiral Nelson gained over that of France near the mouths of the Nile.—The consequence of these new councils in the European courts was, that the balance of force was again changed among the belligerent powers: Great Britain recovered her Austrian and Neapolitan confederates, and added to them the emperor of Russia. And France had to maintain a contest with these powers in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and Italy; whilst she was, at the same time, engaged in hostilities with the Turks and Egyptian beys, assisted by an English fleet.—It becomes necessary, therefore, for the reader to concentrate these widely extended operations in his own mind, and to view them as parts of the same system, in order to give unity to the historical drama, and to render it interesting.

Before

Annual Register. 312.

Before we proceed in the narrative of warlike occurrences, it is proper to give some account of the congress of Rastadt and the result of it, on account of the influence which it had on the councils of the allied powers, and its connexion with the events of the campaign. 1799

Agreeably with an article subjoined to the treaty of Campo Formio, a congress was opened, at that place, between the ministers of France and 173 deputies from the different princes and states of Germany on the twelfth of december, 1797.—After the conferences had been continued above three months, and had been attended with much altercation, the deputation of the empire, chiefly influenced by the emperor and the king of Prussia, at last consented to cede the whole left, or western side of the Rhine, on condition that the French troops should withdraw from the right side of that river. They also agreed to the principle of indemnities for the states which had sustained any loss on the left bank, which were to be found in the secularization of the ecclesiastical estates.—After these grand points were settled, much difficulty arose respecting the estates which were to be secularized. The electors and the prince bishops having most power to defend themselves, however, the stroke threatened to fall heaviest on those who had least weight in themselves. And it was, at last, agreed that they should begin with the total secularization of the abbeys and private prelacies; and that the deficiency should be made good from the domains of the prince bishops.*

Had there been a sincere desire of peace in the French government, such sacrifices of territory and power as these on the part of the Germanic body would certainly have been productive of it.—But when the imperial deputation desired to know what other pretensions the French ministers had to state, it was seen to be far distant.—Not content with having the navigation of the Rhine in common to the two nations, they demanded, that the islands in that river should be left in the possession of France; that the navigation of the rivers which empty themselves into the Rhine, and that of other great rivers in Germany, particularly the Danube, should also be free to both nations; that fort Kehl, though on the right bank of the Rhine, and an adjacent territory, should remain in the hands of the republic.—These and other requisitions of the same nature clearly evinced a design

* Annual Register, 136.

1799 a design in the French republic to have the German empire entirely at their mercy. On hearing them, and being told that the French ministers had still other propositions to make, the German deputies, impatient of their exorbitance, said "that the negotiation would never attain a fixed point, if the conditions of peace already agreed on should be continually interrupted by new propositions."^b

The negotiations were protracted to the present year, but without any prospect of success, except from some signal advantage on the part of the allies. The affair of indemnities affording the directory and their agents an opportunity of enriching themselves by the sale of their services to the parties interested, they were not desirous to bring them to a conclusion. But the grasping disposition of the government, as well as the venal conduct of the individuals which constituted it, became, at last, so notorious, that it opened the eyes even of those who were at first disposed to favour their interests.^c His Prussian majesty joined the emperor in protesting against their new requisitions. When the victory of the Nile had given spirits to the enemies of France, the ministers of Austria, Saxony, and Hanover declared peremptorily against all further cession.[†] And the Austrian plenipotentiary, whose court was emboldened by the treaty between Great Britain and Russia, and the approach of the Russian army, declared that the contingent of Austria was ready to march, in order to protect the empire from further aggression.^d

The entrance of the Russians into Germany brought the negotiations to a crisis.—The French plenipotentiaries declared that, if the Russian troops were admitted into the empire, it would be considered as a violation of neutrality on the part of the Germanic body, and the negotiations for peace would be at an end. To this they were answered, that the imperial diet had resolved to take the instructions of its constituents, and that it had notified to the deputation of the empire at Rastadt, that no requisition had been made to the diet for a passage to the Russian troops.

While this matter was submitted to the diet at Ratisbon, general Suworow advanced into Moravia with an army of 60,000 Russians and Cossacks, and was formally received by the emperor and his court at the close of the late year.

This

[†] In December 1798.

^b Ann. Regist. 137.

^c See America 1798.

^d Ann. Regist. 141.

This was a prelude to warlike operations.—At the opening of this year, the fortress of Ehrenbritstein, which had been blockaded by the French near two years, capitulated.†—The Russians continuing to advance, and the Austrian army being assembled on the borders of Bavaria, and the French army, under Jourdan, having, in the mean-time, crossed the Rhine and penetrated into Suabia, the plenipotentiaries of the republic delivered a proclamation to count Metternich, the imperial minister at Rastadt,|| declaring that the French government, ever faithful to its engagements, and sincerely desirous of peace, was compelled by the absolute necessity of self-defence to command the French armies to take those positions which the existing circumstances require: but that the directory persisted in the intention of concluding peace with the empire, on condition that the Germanic body should declare against the march of the Russians.

1799

This proclamation, which was well calculated to create dissension between the emperor and those states which were desirous of peace, even upon the humiliating terms prescribed by France, was referred by the deputation to the diet at Ratisbon; and an ardent desire of prosecuting the negotiations for peace was, at the same time, expressed.—Their wishes were, however, counteracted by the present councils of the court of Vienna; the determination of which to war was now manifested by the dismissal of Bacher, the French resident at Ratisbon.†*

It was now evident that the sword must decide the contest. Therefore, whilst Suworow was supporting the enemies of France in Italy, the Austrian and French armies prepared for a trial of strength on the frontiers of Germany and Switzerland.—The high characters of the generals who commanded them rendered the war more interesting.—Massena, whom we have seen distinguishing himself in a subordinate command to Buonaparte, was at the head of 45,000 men between the sources of the Rhine and lake Constance. Jourdan, as commander in chief, had under him, in different armies, posted between that lake and Mentz, about 60,000 men.—Opposed to these was an army of 60,000 men, with which the archduke Charles was posted on the Lech; at no great distance from Massena. General Bellegarde was stationed with 25,000 men in the Tyrolese, to guard the

passes

† In January.

|| March 1.

† March 14.

* Annual Register. 143. 5.

1799 } passes to Italy. Hotze was at the head of 20,000 in the Grison country. And Sztarray commanded an army of equal force in the palatinate of the Rhine.^f

The plan of the French generals was to form a junction between the armies of Jourdan and Massena, and to force their way into the Tyrolese; thereby to possess themselves of that province, and to co-operate more effectually with the forces in Italy. With that view, whilst Bernadotte, who commanded Jourdan's army of observation, was reducing Manheim, and ravaging Hesse Darmstadt and the Palatinate, Jourdan having concentrated the remainder of his forces, drew towards lake Constance.—To forward their plan, Massena detached a body of troops to attack general Auffenberg, who was posted with 6000 men of Hotze's army near Bregentz, in the Tyrolese. ‡—The success of this movement equalled his most sanguine expectations. Auffenberg was defeated. And, being cut off from Hotze's army, he was obliged to capitulate; and the strong post of Steig fell into his enemy's hands.^g

This served as a prelude to more important operations.—Some actions had been fought by the detachments of each army in the country of the Grisons, through which the French were to pass to the Tyrolese, without any material advantage to either party, when the archduke and Jourdan approached each other between lake Constance and the Danube, in Suabia.—Jourdan, attacking the Austrian vanguard, || was successful in driving them from their ground in the beginning of the day: but, his enemy being reinforced, he was obliged to retire in his turn, and leave them in possession of the field of battle.

Two days after, † the French general was preparing to renew his attack. But the archduke, penetrating his intention, attacked his advanced posts with such vigour, that he was constrained to fall back towards the Danube. In the several engagements that took place in the course of his retrograde movements, the Austrian prince displayed great address, and the French general lost 5000 men.

Such was now the situation of the two armies that Jourdan perceived that nothing but a victory could enable him to accomplish that junction with

‡ March 5.

|| March 9.

† March 11.

^f History of the Campaign of 1799. p. 7.

^g Campaign. 31.

with Massena which was essential to the execution of their scheme of operations.—The armies were still posted between the Danube and lake Constance, the Austrians occupying the heights near Nellemberg, when he determined to give them battle, in defiance of the advantages which their position afforded them.† In the engagement which ensued the two commanders rivalled each other in the military skill displayed in the course of its complicated evolutions, and the troops on each side fought with exemplary bravery. Victory still hung in suspense, after it had continued several hours. The archduke, then, observing a division of the enemy that was assailable in flank, dispatched some battalions of grenadiers against it; which executed his commands with such promptitude and success that they made a demibrigade prisoners.—This judicious movement, at a moment when fortune was balancing, supported by a repulse which the prince of Wirtemberg gave to a column sent to attack the Austrian division commanded by him, decided the fortune of this important battle, and gave the Austrians the victory which they had so highly merited.‡

Jourdan, sensible of the signal importance of maintaining his ground, renewed his efforts on the ensuing day, but with no better success.—Finding himself thus foiled, he repassed the Danube and the Rhine; leaving his enemy in full possession of Suabia and the northern frontier of Switzerland.—Among the consequences of these defeats, which revived the spirits of all who were enemies to the French republic, was the dismissal of Jourdan.—After all his services, he was charged with remissness in the discharge of his duty: and he was disgraced, to make room for Massena; whose exploits had rendered him a favourite of the government.

During these operations in Suabia, the Grison country was a scene of active war.—Whilst Massena was in his head-quarters at Chur, his subordinate generals, Desolles and Lecourbe, invaded Tyrol with some success.‖ But general Bellegarde, assisted by the Tyrolesian peasants, soon forced them to retire from a country which they had ravaged with remorseless cruelty.—Bellegarde, then, entered the country of the Grisons; intending to favour the movements of the archduke on the northern borders of Switzerland.

† March 25.

‖ In March.

‡ Campaign, 73.

1799 Switzerland. But a division of his army, acting with more ardour than judgment in an attack on the French advanced posts, suffered a defeat, and the greatest part of them were made prisoners. †

In this state were affairs at the different seats of war in Germany, when an event happened which served to exasperate the passions of the parties interested.—The citizens of Vienna had annually celebrated a festival on the thirteenth of april, in commemoration of the loyalty shewn by them at the time when that capital was threatened by Buonaparte.—This season of rejoicing Bernadotte, the French ambassador, who had been before employed in intrigues to alienate the affections of the people from the government, had in the late year, chosen to insult the Austrian court by causing the tri-coloured flag to be displayed from the balcony of his hotel.—The populace demanded that it should be taken down. And, on his refusal, they tore the flag in pieces; and, bursting open the gates of his palace, were guilty of excessive outrages.—This affront was resented with much spirit by the ambassador. Apologies could not be heard. The requisitions made by him as the terms of reconciliation breathed that insolence which marked all the proceedings of the French government with foreign powers at this period; a spirit which had been cherished by the submissive demeanour of the European courts. (1.) The dismissal of the minister Thugut. (2.) The punishment of the mayor of Vienna. (3.) The establishment of a privileged quarter in that capital for the French mission and its compatriots. (4.) That the emperor should repair, at his own expence, the flag and flagstaff, and the picture of the French arms.

Conferences were held on this subject, at Seltz, near Rastadt, between baron Cobentzel on the part of the emperor, and Francis Neufchateau on that of the directory.—These, however, proved fruitless. And soon after they were broken off, the French ministers at Rastadt signified their intention of departing from that place in three days.—In conformity with this resolution, they took their departure.‡—An escort of two hussars was given them: but these did not attend them.—About a quarter of a mile from the town, the foremost carriage, in which was Jean de Brie and his family, was suddenly attacked by a party in the dress of hussars, who rushed from an adjoining wood, and that ambassador narrowly escaped with his life.

† April 22.

‡ April 29.

life. The carriages in which Bonnier and Roberjot, the two other plenipotentiaries, rode were attacked, and both of them were murdered, with circumstances expressive of the utmost rage in the assassins. Rosenstiel, their secretary, saved himself by jumping out of the carriage; seeing, by the light of a flambeau, the attack on those who went before him.

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The report of this outrage flew through every country; and was related with feelings of horror towards the assassins.—The directory, making every possible advantage of it, denounced it, in the name of the French nation, to all good men, and to the governments of every country, as commanded by the cabinet of Vienna, and executed by its troops.—The emperor, that he might clear himself and his court of these vile aspersions, instituted a legal inquiry, and charged the diet to appoint deputies to be present at it; thus to convince the world of his desire to bring the assassins to justice. But, after a long investigation, no evidence could be produced sufficient to convict any one; and the affair has ever since remained enveloped in mystery.¹ Unhappily, what was probably an effort of rage in the banditti, incensed at the insult offered to the Austrian state and nation, was studiously represented as the result of an intrigue.

All prospect of peace from negotiation from this time disappeared; and the directory, to expose the emperor to reproach in the eyes of his confederates, and thereby to weaken the coalition, published a state paper, in the form of a secret article to the treaty of Campo Formio, from which it appeared that he had consented to sacrifice the interests of the German empire to his own personal views by the cession of Mentz, Manheim, and other places to France, on condition of being gratified with the bishopric of Saltzburgh and other territories.²

Active operations, after a short interruption, were renewed with great spirit. The Austrian generals were intent on improving upon their past successes: and Massena, who had now under him, in different armies, 100,000 men, with the appointment of commander in chief in Germany,³ was to prove himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him by his good conduct.

A plan was concerted by generals Hotze and Bellegarde for gaining complete possession of the Grison country, where the inhabitants were well

¹ Ann. Regist. 254.² Idem. 258.³ Idem. 252.

1799 well affected to the Austrian cause.—Hotze was foiled in his attempt on the fort of Luciensteig by the activity of general Menard, and the slow advances of one of the columns destined to the attack. || And, by this misfortune, his partisans in the country were exposed to the attacks of the French general, and several thousands of them were cut off.

This ill success did not prevent Hotze from renewing his efforts. †—Being favoured by the excellent position which Bellegarde had taken to cover his movements, he returned with his whole force; and, having made himself master of the fort of Steig, he forced his enemy to abandon this country and the adjoining cantons of Switzerland. °

The archduke, who had been waiting the issue of these movements, as soon as he knew that Hotze had it in his power to co-operate with him, entered upon active hostilities on the southern frontier of Switzerland.—Crossing the Rhine at Schafhausen, he attacked Massena at the head of 50,000 men, a force nearly equal to his own, at Winterthur: ‡ and, having driven him from his position, obliged him to fall back to an intrenched camp which he had prepared before Zurich.

General Bellegarde, in the mean-time, was rendering the commander in chief essential service by his active operations near the sources of the Adda and the Rhine. In these, with the assistance of a body of forces under general Haddick, he was so successful, that general Lacourbe, who was opposed to them, was constrained to leave them in possession of that vast range of mountainous country called St. Gothard.—This afforded an easy communication between the different Austrian armies, and enabled Bellegarde to support the confederates in Italy. °

The archduke, encouraged by these successes and strengthened with the forces under Hotze, gave battle to Massena in his strong position. † In the engagement which ensued the Austrians forced their way to the foot of the enemy's intrenchments; where several desperate conflicts took place, which were fought with determined courage on both sides; but, with great loss of men, no material advantage was gained by either.—Massena, however, thought it expedient, in consequence of it, to take a new position between the lake of Zurich, the Limmat and the Reuss, and the archduke having

|| May 1.

† May 14.

‡ May 27.

† June 4.

° Ann. Regist. 259.

° Campaign. 159.

having possessed himself of Zurich, fixed his head quarters at Kloten; where the Swiss, had they not been deserted by their national spirit on this occasion, might, probably, by a vigorous support of his standard, have completely turned the fortune of the war.—After this, observing the strength of his enemy's position, and being in expectation of a reinforcement of Russians, he rested, for awhile, on his arms; contenting himself with supporting an insurrection of the enemies of France in the Valais. That he might make a diversion in favour of the army under his own immediate command, he, moreover, gave every assistance in his power to the forces under the Austrian general on the Rhine; who, about this time, ‡ acquitted himself of his commission by the reduction of Heidelberg.*

1799

The affairs of the confederates now wore a more auspicious aspect than they had done at any time during the whole course of the war. The archduke had, we have seen, been successful in Switzerland, and Bellegarde and Hotze in the Grison country; and Suworow, with the support of an English fleet, had completely restored the allied cause in Italy by the success which had attended his standard.—But a turn was now given to the fortune of the campaign by one of those vigorous efforts which the French government has, at different periods, been observed to make, amidst scenes of distraction and civil disorder, favoured by want of harmony and energy among their enemies.

At a crisis when they appeared to be nearly overpowered, a vast levy of conscripts was made, and two new armies were formed; one to act in Piedmont, the other on the Rhine.—To counteract these efforts, the court of London supplied money, and that of Petersburg sent troops.—But here the disunion which prevailed in the Germanic body produced the same fatal effects as it had before done. The Prussian monarch rejoiced to see his Austrian rival weakening himself by these exertions; and flattered himself that, in the result of an unsuccessful and unpopular war, he should gain that ascendancy in the empire, by countenancing its opponents, to which the house of Brandenburg had long aspired. And all those princes and states who were averse to warlike measures attended reluctantly and slowly to the *conclusums* of the diet respecting contingents.

Under this disparity of circumstances active operations were commenced by

‡ In May.

• Annual Register. 263.

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by the French generals in different quarters. Whilst general Muller was successfully employed on the Rhine, and Joubert and Championet were endeavouring to retrieve their affairs in Italy, Massena and Lacourbe entered upon active war in Switzerland. The latter prepared the way for the movements of the grand army by driving the Austrians from the cantons of Schweitz and Uri.—Thus far they were indebted chiefly to their own good conduct for their success. But they were now to derive advantage from the errors of their antagonists.—At the instant when Massena was meditating a general attack on the Austrian posts, general Korzakow arrived at Zurich with a fresh Russian army. Had the Austrians been prepared to reap the intended benefit from this reinforcement, the campaign might possibly have terminated prosperously. But the resolutions recently adopted by the court of Vienna had frustrated the plan concerted by their generals. And a reinforcement which might have given them a decided advantage only served to protract the disasters which awaited their arms.—These originated in the judicious movements of the French armies on the Rhine.—General Muller, who commanded in that quarter, had crossed the Rhine near Mannheim, and reduced Heidelberg: and, being afterwards joined by a reinforcement from Mentz, which had been ravaging the intervening country, he invested the strong fortress of Philipsburg. ||

Had the German princes acted with energy in the war, and supplied their full contingents of troops, the archduke might have provided for the defence of their frontier on the Rhine, whilst he was availing himself of Korzakow's support to attack Massena with their superior force, either to drive him out of Switzerland, or, by their superiority, to encourage the Swiss to join their standard. By the want of such a vigorous co-operation on their part he was constrained to disconcert the whole plan of the campaign by leaving the Russian general and Hotze to maintain their ground against a much superior force in Switzerland, whilst he marched with the grand army towards the Rhine, to rescue the palatinate and duchy of Wirtemberg from the ravages of the enemy.

Of this error Massena did not neglect to make every possible advantage.—When Korzakow and Hotze were preparing to attack him in the position which he had long held near the lake of Lucerne, penetrating their design, he

|| August 26.

he anticipated their attack, and defeated them in an action in which Hotze was slain.†—He then prepared for the reduction of Zurich. And, so great was his superiority, that the Russian general thought it advisable to abandon the town and retire towards the upper Rhine.—On their route towards Eglisau, their immediate object, they were unexpectedly attacked by Massena, from the neighbouring heights. The Russians displayed prodigies of valour in their defence, but without success. Before they reached their destined point, a great part of this army were cut off in their repeated and desperate conflicts.*

From this time disappointment and disaster attended the allied arms. — Agreeably with the plan formed by the Austrian and Russian generals, Suworow, as soon as the victory of Novi had given the allies an ascendant in Italy, passed the Alps into the Grison country, with 17,000 men, in order to join the archduke in the execution of their design of dispossessing the French of Switzerland. After he had struggled with innumerable difficulties in the passage of a mountainous country with his artillery and baggage, when he had forced Lecourbe to leave his ground on St. Gothard, and had reached the canton of Glarus,‡ instead of the Austrian forces which were to have reinforced him there, he had the grief to be informed of the resolution of the Austrian court which had taken the archduke from Switzerland, and of the defeat which Korzakow had sustained. — Indignation filled the breast of the aged warrior, when he found himself thus robbed of the laurels with which he expected his labours to have been crowned. Where he promised himself victory, he could now merit commendation only by extricating himself from embarrassments and avoiding disgrace. And in this his labours were successful. In the repeated actions which the several divisions of his troops had with Massena and Lacourbe in their progress along the narrow valley of Muttenthal, they not only maintained but enhanced the honour of the Russian arms. Yet, on his arrival in the valley of the upper Rhine, near Chur,|| he had to regret the loss of 3000 of the veterans with which he had left Italy.

The archduke, desirous to repair the misfortunes brought on the allies by a departure from their original plan, on information of Suworow's distress,

† September 26.

‡ End of September.

|| October 5.

* Annual Register. 269.

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distress, hastened, from his position near the Neckar, with part of his forces, to that general's support. But he arrived too late to render him any other service than that of favouring his retreat by making a diversion of Massena's army. †

The allies had now lost 15,000 men and their enemy 9000, since the archduke's departure: yet the contest was not at an end.—When Massena had desisted from harassing Suworow's army, he turned towards Eglisau, and threatened an attack on Korzakow.—That general, then, whose troops were now refreshed from the fatigue of their march from Zurich, embraced the opportunity which this afforded him to make one effort more for retrieving the fortune of the campaign by an attack on Massena. ‡ In the first furious onset, with fixed bayonets, the Russians drove the French infantry from their ground. They attempted repeatedly to rally, and to take a fresh position, but were as often defeated. But when they were on the point of surrendering, Massena brought a strong body of cavalry to their support, and saved them from this disgrace.

Whilst the Russians were acquiring nothing but honour from hard-fought battles, the French general was daily advancing towards the accomplishment of his purpose, in gaining complete possession of Switzerland; and in the prosecution of this, he now drove the prince of Condé from Constance, and obliged him to retire into Suabia. ||

Suworow, in the mean-time, had effected a junction with Korzakow at Fieldkirk; and, on reviewing his troops, found that, of 50,000 men sent into the field by his sovereign, 25,000 only remained. ¶—Under the sense of extreme displeasure which he felt towards the Austrian court, to whose conduct he imputed his disappointment of success and of glory, he was gratified, on his arrival at Augsburg, † with an order from his court to withdraw his troops to the Russian territories.

The principal seat of war was now removed from Switzerland to the banks of the Rhine.—The French general, on information that the archduke was withdrawn into Suabia, seized the favourable moment to enter upon active hostilities; and, after levying a small contribution on Francfort, recovered Mannheim. But here he was stopped in his career by the arrival of

† October 4.

‡ October 6.

|| October 9.

‡ November 8.

¶ Campaign of 1799. 311.

of the archduke. That prince, having provided for the defence of the Grison country, which alone remained to the allies in those parts, returned to the defence of Germany. And, fixing his head-quarters in a well chosen position, from which he could watch the movements which his enemy might make on the Rhine, the Neckar, or the Maine, he counteracted their designs with success; and, in the issue of the campaign, he obliged them to raise the blockade of Philipsburg,† and, evacuating Manheim, to repass the Rhine. 1799

The affairs of the allies were in a more prosperous state in Italy.—— The contest which the French republic had to support in that country, while it was carrying on war in Switzerland, Germany, and Egypt, and maintaining its power in Holland, called for the full exertion of its strength and resources. The king of Naples had prepared a considerable army for the field: and the emperor had above 50,000 men in the north of Italy, commanded by generals Kray and Melas, officers of distinguished merit, and favoured by the maritime forces of England and Russia in the Mediterranean.—Moreover, there were already strong appearances of discontent among the inhabitants of the countries which the French had subjected to their paramount power, under the specious pretence of delivering them from tyranny. The directory, therefore, had not only to provide one army in the south, to oppose the partisans of the allies in Naples and the ecclesiastical states, and another in the north, to counteract the Austrians, who expected soon to be reinforced with a Russian army, but to keep their fortresses strongly garrisoned, to awe the people, and prevent them from revolting.

The plan of the French government was, by a co-operation of Massena in Switzerland with the northern Italian army, to reduce the Tyrolese; and, by that mean, to open a free communication between their several armies, and to embarrass the allies by cutting them off from each other, thus more easily to subdue them.—With that view, whilst general Macdonald was opposed to the warlike cardinal Ruffo, at the head of the royalists, aided by a body of Austrians in the south, general Scheerer, who commanded a French army of 45,000 men in Lombardy was directed to attack the

† November 4.

* Annual Register, 275.

1799 the posts which the Austrians had established on the Adige, to guard the passes to Tyrol. An attempt to execute these orders brought on an engagement near Legnano, || in which the centre division, commanded by the French general himself, was successful: but his right being repulsed with great slaughter, he was obliged, in consequence, to retreat towards Verona.—Five days after, Moreau's division came to the attack in the neighbourhood of that city: and here also, while one column of his forces was successful in driving the Austrians from their posts, the two others were repulsed by Kray with great loss, and a considerable part of them were slain or taken prisoners.—After this, Scheerer, whose army was already reduced to 35,000 men, found it expedient to abandon his posts between the Adige and lake Garda and to take a position at Magnan, nearer the gulph of Venice.

The circumstances of the French general were already become critical. They demanded active operations, when his troops required rest.—Being apprized that Suworow was approaching with his Russian army to reinforce the allies, he determined to bring general Kray to an action before they should have formed their junction. A furious battle ensued between the two camps.† Fortune evidently inclined to the republicans, when the Austrian general Latterman came into action so opportunely, with his corps de reserve, that the French were driven from their ground. Scheerer and Moreau made the most vigorous efforts to retrieve the fortune of the day, and succeeded in driving one division of the enemy to the gates of Verona. But fresh troops being continually brought forward, they were forced, at last, to quit the field with the loss of 3500 killed or disabled and 3000 taken prisoners, and withdrew to a more secure position nearer Mantua.

When marshal Suworow had joined the Austrians, now commanded by general Melas, with 20,000 men,‡ and was invested with the command in chief, these generals, finding their force far superior to that of their enemy, immediately entered upon active operations.—While Kray was detached with 18,000 men to blockade Peschiera and Mantua, § both on the Mincio, they obliged general Scheerer to abandon his position on that river; and, pressing on his retreating army, they drove him across the Oglio; they reduced

|| March 25.

† April 5.

‡ April 13.

§ April 15.

reduced the citadel of Brescia; and, after defeating a division of his army at Cremona, they forced him to retire before them to Lodi. 1799

The French general's situation now grew daily more distressful. With the disadvantage of having to contend with a superior army commanded by two of the ablest generals of the age, he had to contend with the malecontents of the Brescian and other parts of the Cisalpine republic, a great number of whom, disappointed of the benefits which they expected from the revolution, had joined the enemies of France as soon as they thought them strong enough to afford them protection. They had received freedom as a boon at the hands of Buonaparte: they had hailed him as their deliverer: they had planted the tree of liberty with great parade: but they were now to learn that liberty is not to be received as a boon, but to be asserted as a right: that those only deserve this inestimable blessing, the source of every social comfort, who have spirit to maintain it, not by the protection of others, but by their own native force: and that it is in vain to plant the tree of liberty, unless it be properly guarded by good morals, by the pride of personal independency, by public spirit, and that union among the members of a state which arises from their common attachment to their government.

Scheerer, sensible of the perils that surrounded him, had provided as well as possible for his own security; by posting his army behind the Adda, in several divisions, extending from Lecco, at the southern extremity of lake Como, to Lodi: after which he was superseded in the command by general Moreau.

Suworow knew the advantage of promptitude under such circumstances, and therefore delayed not an hour to make his attacks. Having caused a flying bridge to be constructed of pontoons and planks during the night, he attacked the division posted at Trezzo, and forced it to retire with considerable loss.[†] The allied generals then passed their respective divisions over; and, forcing their enemy to retire before them through the Milanese, they gained possession of that capital, and caused the citadel to be invested. Another division of their forces had, in the mean-time, attacked

[†] April 27.

^{*} History of the Campaign. 65.

1799 attacked general Serrurier, posted at the northern extremity of their line, and, overpowering him, obliged him to capitulate with 3000 men.

In the reduced state of the French army, which did not exceed 25,000 men, Moreau deemed it expedient to concentrate his forces, and to take a central position between Alessandria and Valenza, which might enable him to afford all the protection that was compatible with his present strength to Piedmont and Lombardy, and also to keep open his communication with Genoa and France.†

The allied generals, in the mean-time, were availing themselves of their great force to detach strong bodies of men, that might make themselves master of the fortresses which kept the malecontents in awe.—Whilst they remained, with the grand army, in a central position, near Pavia, to watch the movements of their enemy, and to direct the various operations of their own forces, their detachments were successfully employed in different quarters. Peschiera, Pizzighitone, and Como, were reduced by them within a few days;‡ and the stores found in these and the other conquered fortresses afforded very seasonable supplies for the allied armies, which persevered in active operations while their troops were flushed with victory.—The various movements made by the rival commanders to foil each other's purposes brought on an engagement between Moreau and the advanced posts of the allies; in which the French general was defeated with the loss of 1200 men.†—A division of the confederates was detached to invest the citadel of Turin.—That of Milan was forced to capitulate.§ And Ferrara, Cremona, and Ravenna were added to their conquests; and gave them a complete ascendancy in Lombardy.‡

The directory had it not in their power to send such a reinforcement into Italy as might enable Moreau to maintain the contest on equal terms without endangering their interests in other quarters. Therefore they instructed Macdonald to leave the French partisans to support their cause in the kingdom of Naples, where they were in possession of the capital and several neighbouring fortresses, and to march with his army, amounting to about 25,000 men, into Lombardy, to the relief of Moreau.

On

‡ May 7. ‖ Beginning of May. † May 16. § May 23. ‡ End of May.

• Campaign. 93.

On the other hand, the two imperial courts, that they might preserve their ascendancy, ordered general Bellegarde to pass into Italy with the troops which he had commanded in Tyrol, and sent a reinforcement of 11,000 Russians to the allied army in that country.—These measures answered every purpose intended by them. Whilst Bellegarde was left to blockade Alessandria, and generals Kaim and Wuckassowitch were protecting the army employed in the siege of the citadel of Turin, Suworow marched with above 20,000 men, to encounter Macdonald on his route. ||—This movement produced a battle on the banks of the Trebia, that falls into the Po, which was fought with desperate fury during three days,† and terminated in the entire defeat of Macdonald, with the loss of a third part of his army, killed and disabled, and his retreat to the position which he had before held.

The allies were now victorious in every part of Italy.—The citadel of Turin capitulating a few days after the battle of Trebia, they had complete possession of Piedmont. ‡**—The subjects of the grand duke of Tuscany, observing the successes of the allied arms, gladly embraced the opportunity afforded by these and the protection of the English fleet, to join the confederates in driving the French out of that principality and re-establishing their sovereign's independency.—Cardinal Ruffo, at the head of 20,000 counter-revolutionists, ably assisted by a naval force under admiral Nelson and captain Trowbridge, reduced the republican garrison in Naples, and put his sovereign in possession of his capital. §—The reduction of Capua and Goeta completed the triumphs of the allies in the kingdom of Naples, as that of Urbino, † Alessandria, ‡‡ and Mantua, ||| did in Lombardy.†

Macdonald, in the mean-time, had joined the grand army with the remains of the forces which he had brought from Naples; §§ which, with a reinforcement under Joubert, who now came to succeed Moreau in the command, placed that general at the head of 40,000 men.—Reflecting, then,

June 15.	† June 16, 17, and 18.	‡ June 20.	§ June 20.
† June 9.	‡‡ July 21.	July 30.	§§ End of July.

* The imperialists found in the citadel of Turin 562 fine pieces of ordnance, 40,000 muskets, 400,000 weight of powder, and considerable magazines.—[*Campaign of 1799.* 143.]—Thus had those princes provided for the defence of their capital, who had considered themselves, and had been considered by others, as the centinels of Italy on the side of France.

† *Campaign of 1799.* 145.

‡ *Annual Register.* 291. 93.

1799 then, on the critical state of their affairs, and, particularly, that the reduction of Mantua would enable general Kray to reinforce Suworow with the besieging army, Joubert determined, as his best expedient for retrieving them, to attack the allies before they should have effected this junction.—The memorable battle of Novi ensued. †—The French army was encamped on very strong ground, upon the heights near that place, when Suworow, being apprized of his rival's design, determined to anticipate it by boldly attacking him in that position.—The allied generals were here confronted by antagonists worthy of themselves; for Moreau, who had resigned the command, fought as a volunteer.—So resolutely were the assailants received, that they were three times repulsed; and fortune apparently inclined to the republicans. The engagement had continued with dreadful slaughter several hours, when general Melas, with sixteen battalions, made so vigorous an assault on their flank, that they were forced to give way; and a mortal wound which Joubert received at that instant decided the fortune of the day. The republicans were driven from the field with the loss of 8000 men killed and 4000 taken prisoners.—The effect of this victory was enhanced by the capture of thirty-two pieces of cannon, and fifty-seven tumbrils; but the joy of the victors was alloyed by the loss of 7000 men killed and wounded.*

This career of success enabled Suworow to cross the Alps to the support of the confederate army in Switzerland, without endangering the allied cause in Italy. Their affairs continued to prosper after his departure. ‡—Several victories of smaller importance were obtained by them over the detachments of the enemy: and some events occurred in other parts of Italy which seemed to make the affairs of France irrecoverable in this country. Among these were the successes of the Neapolitan general, Bonricard, and captain Trowbridge in the ecclesiastical state; the latter of whom took possession of Civita Vecchia, and the former entered Rome, which had been defended six weeks by the republicans. ||

Severe as these disasters were, the republicans did not yet despair. Championet, who succeeded Joubert in the command, perceiving that his enemy's present design was to gain the passage of the Bochetta, by that

means

† August 46.

‡ September 15.

|| September 30.

* Campaign. 244. and Annual Register. 295.

means to prepare the way for the reduction of Coni and Genoa, took his measures for preventing it.—In this design, however, he was foiled by the address of the Austrian general. Melas, by withdrawing a body of troops from their station at Mondovi, as if in retreat, tempted Championet to pursue them. And, attacking them by surprise in their pursuit, he defeated them with the loss of 4000 men killed or taken prisoners.†—Nor was Championet more successful in an attempt to cut off his enemy's communication with Turin; being defeated, with considerable loss, by general Kray.—The French general, now, had no force that he could oppose to the Austrians; nor was there any fortress that could withstand them. Ancona capitulated a few days after these victories.‡ The strong posts of Fossano and Savigliano were taken: and this eventful campaign terminated with the reduction of the strong fortress of Coni; the last place of strength, except Genoa, which remained in the hands, or at the devotion, of the French republic. ||*

From this seat of war, which had exhibited scenes of slaughter that are frightful to human nature, our attention is called to another in Egypt equally destructive of the human race, and equally important in its events. It is rendered more interesting by the character of him who had the chief conduct of it on the part of France, and who has since filled so distinguished a station in the government of this country; a man whom even a dispassionate adversary will acknowledge to have been endowed with signal talents, and who was actuated by passions that led him to the full exertion of them. Active and adventurous, he was ever projecting some new enterprise which he deemed conducive to his own glory or that of the state: thoughtful, penetrating, and inventive, he was ever attentive to existing circumstances and the sentiments of those with whom he had to deal, and devising the best expedients to effect his designs, or to extricate himself from difficulties. Nor does he appear on any occasion to have been restrained by any principles of humanity or religion in the attainment of those objects to which his insatiable ambition aspired.

He was at the head of an army that, with the marines and volunteers with which it had been reinforced amounted to near 50,000 of the best troops

† November 5.

‡ November 11.

|| December 3.

* Campaign. 318. Ann. Regist. 297.

1799 troops in Europe, accustomed to victory, and confident in their own prowess and the military skill and good conduct of their generals. To turn the fortune of war, to convince such men that, although their enthusiasm had led them to exhibit prodigies of valour on the Po, the Adda, and the Adige, there were troops still ready to dispute the palm with them, and capable of setting bounds to the enterprises of their leader, implies no common degree of merit. If Buonaparte animated his men by telling them that they would be distinguished among their countrymen as having been of the army of Italy, higher honours certainly await the conquerors of these.

The French general's situation was such as gave a full display of his genius and address.—He was surrounded with enemies: and being by the late destruction of de Bruey's fleet, deprived of the protection and succours which it was intended to afford him, it was of the utmost importance that he should be on terms of amity with the inhabitants of the country.—To conciliate their affections, therefore, he not only professed a reverence for their prophet and their religion himself, and conformed to their customs and manners, but enjoined his troops to follow his example, and made it a capital crime to be guilty of depredations or extortion towards them. "The Roman legions," said he, "protected all religions. You will find here usages different from those of Europe. You will reconcile yourselves to them by custom."^b—To secure the kind offices of the natives, he was ever repeating his declarations that he came as their deliverer from every kind of oppression.—To reconcile himself to the good graces of the bashaw of Egypt, he represented himself as being united in interests with the Porte in punishing the insolence and extortion of the beys. "You know" said he, in a letter to the bashaw soon after his arrival, "that the French nation is the only ally which the sultan has in Europe. Come, then, and meet me, and curse along with me the impious race of beys."

He observed the same accommodating maxims, as far as was compatible with his general design, in the organization of the Egyptian government. Conformably with the French model, a general assembly was to be held, at Cairo, of the chief men of the fourteen provinces, into which Egypt was divided.

^b Ann. Regist. 7 and 8.

^c Idem. 8.

divided.—There were also provincial assemblies. And the French generals who commanded in the provinces were ordered to make choice of such persons to be members of them as had most influence with the people, and were most distinguished for their talents and their kindness to the French. Deputations from each province, consisting of three lawyers, three merchants, and three sheiks or chiefs of the Arabs, were to form a divan or national council.^d 1799

This conduct was admirably calculated to deceive the natives, had they been endowed with feelings, with affections, only, without reflection. But that common sense which nature has dispensed to the whole human race, to be its safeguard against the arts by which machiavelian politicians would impose on their understandings, came to their assistance.

Men of reflection, reasoning from the general motives to action, among mankind, and the nature and circumstances of these institutions themselves, which, according to the conqueror's professions, were intended to promote their happiness, were led to suspect that, amidst all this shew of friendship for the natives, and tenderness for their feelings, his grand and ultimate object, as in other instances of intrusion, was the establishment of the absolute ascendancy of France.—Among other things which betrayed these views, was an order given by him, “ that the whole of the inhabitants of “ Egypt should wear the tri-coloured cockade, and that all the Egyptian “ vessels navigating the Nile should hoist the tri-coloured flag.”—So prevalent was the opinion that the French government had designs hostile to the mussulman interests, notwithstanding all the labours of Buonaparte to impress the people with different sentiments, that a formidable insurrection took place at Cairo before the close of the late year, to free the nation of these invaders. General Dupuis, who was sent with a regiment of dragoons to suppress them, fell a victim to their rage: and four or five thousand of the insurgents were slain before tranquillity was restored.—Nor was the enmity which the Arabs entertained towards the French confined to the capital, where means could be more easily employed to inflame their minds. The troops posted, in different parts of the provinces were fiercely attacked by the inhabitants; and much slaughter was made on both sides in the rencounters which ensued.^e

These

^d Ann. Regist. 5.

^e Idem. 16.

^f Idem. 18.

1799

These evidences of general disaffection were very unpropitious to Buonaparte's views; and could not be contemplated without serious apprehensions of danger.—He had reason to be chagrined, at the same time, at the ill success of his artifices to impose on the Turkish government, when he was informed of the treaty which the sultan had entered into with Russia, and of the correspondent movements of the bashaws.—Agreeably with these hostile propensities, Ghezzar Oglow, bashaw of St. John d'Acre, in Syria, had offered refuge to Ibrahim Bey, when he fled before the French general; and he had since assembled a great force, the destination of which was not known. That he might oblige the bashaw to act decisively, Buonaparte called on him to send away Ibrahim and his mamelukes.—To this requisition Ghezzar made no reply; and expressed his own and his sovereign's resentment by putting the French who were at Acre in irons.*

The French general was convinced that this enemy must be subdued, or that his enterprise must finally fail of success. But, before he could leave Egypt without extreme danger, it was necessary that he should provide for its defence against the disaffected Arabs, as well as those foreign enemies from whom he expected an attack.—In doing this he was aided neither by places of strength already built, nor by those large rivers and those narrow defiles which, in a mountainous country, are of assistance in fortifying it.—Seeing that he had nothing to depend upon but his military force, he adopted the plan of erecting fortified posts in different parts, to awe the inhabitants and protect his troops. He had, therefore, made it his first concern to cause such forts to be constructed in proper places.—Grand Cairo was the intended centre of his military operations, as well as the seat of government: therefore he used every means to secure it which was compatible with its vast extent.—He constructed magazines on the Nile; and formed a marine force on that river, to protect both these and his convoys. Alexandria being the chief emporium of Egyptian commerce, he paid a particular attention to its fortifications, and to the preserving a communication between that port and Ramanieh, on the western branch of the Delta, which was to be the centre of his operations on the lower Nile and the coast.—He also provided, as well as his force would permit, for the defence of Rozetta and Damietta, at the mouths of the Nile, and for that of Suez; which

* Annual Register. 18.

which was to be his port on the Red-sea.—And when he had determined on an expedition against Ghezzar Oglow, he erected posts and established magazines at convenient places near the Syrian frontier.^b 1799

Having made these preparations for the maintenance of his establishment in Egypt, knowing that promptitude was particularly necessary at the present crisis, he began his march towards St. John d'Acre, at the opening of the year, with an army consisting of 12,900 men, commanded under himself by generals Kleber, Regnier, Bon, and Lannes.^c—Intending to make El-Arisch, or Larissa, a small fortified place within the Syrian frontier, one of his posts, he caused it to be invested: and, after he had defeated a body of forces sent by the bashaw to its relief, he forced the garrison to capitulate.^{†*}

Pursuing his route towards the coast of Syria, his troops, which had been distressed by a fatiguing march of eighty leagues over the dreary sands of Egypt, were, at last, cheered with the prospect of the cultivated country which surrounds Gaza.—With little resistance, he made himself master of that city.—His next object was Jaffa, a maritime place of considerable strength. The garrison, amounting to about 4000 men, made a valiant defence. Even when the artillery had made a breach in the wall, and the assailants had entered the city and had taken their principal tower, they refused to lay down their arms, and were put to the sword with circumstances of extreme barbarity.*

From

† February 18.

^b Regnier's State. 21 to 32.

^c Berthier. ap. Annual Register.

^{*} Annual Register. 24.

* There being different accounts of the manner in which the garrison of Jaffa were put to death, it is proper that the reader should be made acquainted with them, that he may form his own judgment respecting them.—The account given us by sir Robert Wilson, who served in the British army in the ensuing campaign in Egypt, is as follows. "Buonaparte having carried the town of Jaffa by assault, many of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part flying into the mosques, and imploring mercy from their pursuers, were granted their lives; and let it be well remembered, that an exasperated army in the moment of revenge, when the laws of war justified their rage, yet heard the voice of pity, received its impression, and proudly refused to be any longer the executioners of an unresisting enemy. Soldiers of the Italian army, this is a laurel wreath worthy of your fame, a trophy of which the subsequent treason of an individual shall not deprive you.

"Three days afterwards, Buonaparte, who had expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and determined to relieve himself from the maintenance and care of three thousand eight hundred prisoners, ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa;

1799

From this place Buonaparte addressed a friendly letter to Ghezzar Oglow: and, on receiving a defiance from him, saying "that he would rather bury himself in the ruins of the city than surrender it to him," Buonaparte proceeded to invest St. John d'Acre.

This maritime fortress, called by the Greeks Ptolemais, so celebrated for the sieges it sustained in the holy wars, has been successively in the hands of the kings of Egypt, the Romans, the Arabs, the christians, and the Turks. It has a good harbour, and is well situated for commerce. On this account it

"Jaffa; where a division of French infantry formed against them. When the Turks had entered into their fatal alignment, and the mournful preparations were completed, the signal gun fired. Volleys of musquetry and grape instantly played against them; and Buonaparte, who had been regarding the scene through a telescope, when he saw the smoke ascending, could not restrain his joy, but broke out into exclamations of approval; indeed, he had just reason to dread the refusal of his troops thus to dishonour themselves. Kleber had remonstrated in the most strenuous manner, and the officer of the *etat-major* who commanded (for the general to whom the division belonged was absent) even refused to execute the order without a written instruction; but Buonaparte was too cautious, and sent Berthier to enforce obedience.

"When the Turks had all fallen, the French troops humanely endeavoured to put a period to the sufferings of the wounded, but some time elapsed before the bayonet could finish what the fire had not destroyed, and probably many languished days in agony. Several French officers, by whom these details are partly furnished, declared, that this was a scene, the retrospect of which tormented their recollection, and that they could not reflect on it without horror, accustomed as they had been to sights of cruelty.

"These were the prisoners whom Assalini, in his very able work on the plague, alludes to, when he says, that for three days the Turks shewed no symptoms of that disease, and it was their putrifying remains which contributed to produce the pestilential malady which he describes as afterwards making such ravages in the French army.

"Their bones still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller who arrives; nor can they be confounded with those who perished in the assault, since this field of butchery lies a mile from the town.

"Such a fact should not, however, be alleged without some proof, or leading circumstance stronger than assertion, being produced to support it; but there would be a want of generosity in naming individuals, and branding them to the latest posterity with infamy for obeying a command when their submission became an act of necessity, since the whole army did not mutiny against the execution; therefore to establish further the authenticity of the relation, this only can be mentioned, that it was Bonn's division which fired, and thus every one is afforded the opportunity of satisfying themselves respecting the truth, by inquiring of officers serving in the different brigades composing this division."—[*History of the British Expedition*. 78.]—Sir Robert informs us in a note, moreover, "that Buonaparte pleaded that he ordered the garrison to be destroyed, because he had not provisions to maintain them, or strength enough to guard them; and that it was evident that if they escaped, they would act against the French, since amongst the prisoners were 500 of the garrison of El-Arisch who had promised not to serve again;" thus justifying cruelty upon the Machiavelian principle of expediency.

The

it was chosen for an emporium by the enterprising Faccardino, chief of the Druses, in the fifteenth century; who, throwing off his subjection to the Turks, opened a commercial correspondence with the Florentines, then under the auspices of Cosmo de Medicis, and other European nations.¹—Like many other states under the nominal dominion of the Porte, it pays a tribute as an acknowledgment of paramount sovereignty, but in other respects exercises independent power.

1799

To obstruct the operations of Buonaparte in Palestine, commodore sir Sidney Smith, who had been sent from England in the late autumn to take the command of a squadron in the Archipelago, concerted a plan with Djazzar Oglow. And it was agreed that they should act with their united forces for the relief of Acre, whilst commodore Hood, who had blockaded Alexandria since the battle of Aboukir bay, should continue before that port,

The account given by the writer of a work entitled *Memoires sur l'Egypte*, is as follows.—After relating the preceding operations of the siege, “The division of Bon,” says he, “who was charged with the feigned attacks, penetrated into the town. The retiring garrison defended themselves with great slaughter: and, refusing to lay down their arms, they were put to the sword. It consisted of 1200 Turkish gunners and 2500 maugrabins or arnauts.—Three hundred Egyptians who surrendered, were sent home to their own families. The French army lost about 300 men killed and 200 wounded.”—Buonaparte, being thus master of the town and forts, ordered the inhabitants to be spared.”—According to this writer, then, who published his work by virtue of an arret of the tribunate, the garrison was *passée au fil de l'épée, put to the sword*; an expression which implies that they were not slain in action, with the arms in their hands, but slaughtered in revenge of their defending the town so bravely against the French army.—This manner of carrying on war, so inconsistent with that humanity which is essential to heroism, perfectly corresponds with Buonaparte's denunciations of vengeance on his entering the Syrian frontier.—In a letter to the chiefs, *eu-lemás*, and commandants of Jerusalem, he charges them to make it known to the inhabitants, “that he is terrible as the lightning towards his enemies, compassionate and merciful towards the people, and those who are willing to be his friends.”—*Pieces diverses et Correspondence*.

The reader has now to choose between this account of an anonymous writer and that of an English officer of known veracity and repute.—Whichever he prefers he may derive from it some useful admonitions for his own conduct. Should he prefer that of sir Robert Wilson, he may observe the dangerous tendency of the vague, Machiavelian principle of expediency, and may be admonished to adhere firmly to the established principles of morality and religion.—Should he prefer that of the French writer, annexing to it the denunciation contained in Buonaparte's own letter, he may derive from it a proper sense and conviction of his *negative* happiness, as an Englishman, in not being subject to the dominion of a person who compares his vengeance to the lightning of heaven, and his *positive* happiness in being governed by laws which are founded on justice and administered with impartiality.

¹ Moreri. and Annual Register. 20.

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port, and encourage the Arabs in their enterprises to annoy the French in their posts in Egypt.

The French army opened their trenches before the fortress in the month of march, † and prosecuted the siege with unwearied diligence; displaying their usual intrepidity in the several assaults which were made. But they laboured under great disadvantages from the want of heavy artillery and ammunition; the flotilla on board of which Buonaparte had embarked this necessary apparatus having fallen into the hands of sir Sidney Smith on its passage.*

The defence had been ably maintained above three weeks, by the garrison, under the direction of colonel Philippeaux, the chief engineer, and several successful sorties had been made by them, in which they were supported by the English marine force, when the French general was informed that an army of mamelukes and Turks was advancing towards him.—On this intelligence, Buonaparte, intermitting the siege, marched out to meet his enemy. || Repeated engagements ensued, in which the French forces were victorious: and, in the event, the Turks were obliged to retreat precipitately towards Damascus; after which he resumed the operations of the siege.—Being apprized, soon after, † of the approach of a fleet of transports and corvettes under Hassan Bey, he redoubled his exertions, and carried on his approaches with such vigour and success that the assailants were enabled to fix the French standard on the outer angle of the tower.—In this critical period of the siege, when, with a bravery that merited the praises of their antagonists, they were mounting a breach which was practicable only by means of scaling ladders,* sir Sidney Smith came with his crews to the support of the garrison; and, by the relief which he afforded them, and the animation which his presence and that of the aged bashaw inspired, he enabled them to give the assailants a complete repulse.*—

Notwithstanding

‡ March 20. || April 15. † May 7.

* Irritated by the failure of this enterprise, which must be ascribed to the activity and good conduct of this brave English officer, Buonaparte charged him with cruelty in putting the French prisoners found on board the ships laden with ammunition on board a vessel infected with the plague, and with instigating Djazzar Oglow to acts of barbarity towards the besiegers; charges which are irreconcilable with the general tenour of his conduct, and from which sir R. Wilson satisfactorily clears him.—*Preface to Hist. of the Expedition.* p. 14.

• Sir Sidney Smith's Letter. ap. Ann. Reg. Appendix. 70.

• Smith's Letter. Ann. Reg. 73.

Notwithstanding this, Buonaparte returned to the assault; and, by the bashaw's advice, his troops were suffered to descend from the rampart. A dreadful conflict ensued; in the result of which the French were repulsed with great slaughter. 1799

At this period of the siege, a dervise was sent by Buonaparte with a letter to the bashaw, to propose a cessation of arms, while the bodies, whose stench was become intolerable and threatened to occasion a pestilence, should be buried. But, before an answer was returned, another assault was given, which proved as ineffectual as the former.

Buonaparte, then, despairing of success, and unwilling to sacrifice more of those troops which were so valuable to him, was constrained to raise the siege. †—This may be considered as his first reverse of fortune. With the disrepute which generally accompanies such a failure, he returned to Cairo, according to Berthier's narrative, with the loss of 1200 men, who fell by disease and the sword, and 1800 wounded.*

The fear of disgrace now concurred with the perils that surrounded him to stimulate him to exertion. The unsuccessful issue of his late expedition gave spirits to his enemies of every description; and they availed themselves of the favourable moment to distress him.—Ishmael Bey, governor of Jerusalem, with the assistance of sir Sidney Smith's squadron, possessed himself of Jaffa. ‡—The mamelukes renewed their enterprises in different parts of Egypt.—And Mustapha Bashaw, with a Turkish army, supported by a strong Anglo-Russian fleet lately arrived off the coast of Egypt, reduced the castle of Aboukir: || and the same confederates were meditating the siege of Alexandria.

Buonaparte used all possible dispatch, therefore, to check the enterprises of his enemies.—He employed the short space of time which he spent at Grand Cairo in the arrangement of his military force.—Generals le Grange and Murat were sent with detachments against the adherents of Ibrahim and Murad Beys; and acquitted themselves of their commissions by the victories which they obtained over the mamelukes.—The commander in chief, then, marched with a strong army against Mustapha Bashaw, who was posted before Aboukir, for the defence of that fortress, and

† May 21.

|| July 16.

* Ann. Regist. 29 to 39.

‡ Idem. 36.

1799 and expected to be joined by the mamelukes under Murad Bey.—A battle ensued, which was fought with desperate fury.† The French generals and their respective divisions performed their parts in the attacks which they were destined to make with exemplary intrepidity, and were rewarded with success. The Turks were defeated, with the loss of some thousands of their troops either slain or driven into the sea: the bashaw was taken prisoner: and the castle of Aboukir, which was of essential importance to the intended operations of the confederates, was, in consequence, recovered.‡

The French officers who commanded in the different posts were obliged to watch with the greatest vigilance the movements of their domestic foes, and, by their activity in counteracting them, to provide for the safety of their infant colony. The mamelukes, and the Bedouin Arabs, who rivalled them in fierceness, were alternately their assistants;* and the brave Murad Bey, who possessed all the qualities requisite for command among a barbarous people, served as a rallying point and bond of union among them.**

Desaix,

† July 25.

‡ Annual Register 37. 42.

* Denon thus speaks of these two descriptions of warlike people. "It is true that we had driven away the mamelukes; but on our arrival, in want of all the necessities of life, we found that, in expelling them, we had not supplied their place. And indeed, who but these mamelukes could subjugate and restrain the Bedouin Arabs, however badly armed, and however incapable of resistance, having no other ramparts than the shifting sands, no other lines than the wide expanse, and no other retreat than the immensity of the deserts? Had we endeavoured to bring them over to us by an offer of lands to cultivate, we know that in Europe the peasant who becomes a huntsman forbears from that moment to cultivate the land. Now the Bedouin is a huntsman from his infancy, and habitually so. Sloth and independence are the bases of his character; and to indulge the one and protect the other, he is unceasingly in an agitated state, allowing himself to be harassed and tormented by want. We had therefore nothing to offer to the Bedouins which could be equivalent to the advantage of their plundering us;—a calculation which is invariably the basis of all the treaties they enter into."—*Denon's Travels*. 1. 94.

** Denon thus portrays this celebrated chief. After speaking of his indefatigable efforts in opposition to Desaix, and the defeats he had sustained, "calm amidst all his misfortunes," says he, "this Egyptian Fabius, knowing well how to ally a patient courage with all the resources of active policy, had calculated his means, and knew how to appretiate justly their effects, amidst the various occurrences of a disastrous war: although he had to oppose at the same time a foreign enemy, and all the rival pretensions of his jealous equals, he continued to preserve a firm authority over his party, by taking his full share of the privations brought upon them by their

—Desaix, who had been sent against him into upper Egypt, had defeated him in several encounters. And that general and Belliard had fought with the same success in the desultory hostilities which they had carried on with the other enemies of the French in that country. But it was like beating the air. They defeated without subduing them: and the excesses which the French troops were guilty of continually increased the number of their enemies.*

But if this expedition to upper Egypt had no material effect on the final issue of Buonaparte's enterprise, it will ever be memorable to the lovers of the

“ their rapid marches, and their defeats; he was become their only rallying point, the ruler of their destiny, and all their movements, and commanded them as absolutely as in the time of his greatest prosperity. By long experience he had learned the great art of accommodating himself to the times, nor did he choose by a vain bravado to put all to hazard: he knew that the weaker party ought to make this use of their misfortunes, and fight only with the scythe of time, and when no longer able to command events, that true skill consists in so far yielding to them as hence to derive the means of carrying on a more active opposition. By this fertility in resources Murad Bey shewed himself an adversary worthy of Desaix, nor can it be decided whether the ingenious and reiterated attacks of the one, or the circumspect resistance of the other, are the most to be admired.”—*Denon's Travels*. 2. 235.

* Denon acknowledges the outrages committed by the French troops on this expedition; but endeavours to palliate their crime. “ We who boasted that we were more just than the mamlukes, committed daily and almost necessarily a great number of iniquitous acts. The difficulty of distinguishing our enemies by their exterior form and colour was the cause of our continually putting to death innocent peasants. The soldiers who were sent out on scouting parties, frequently mistook for mamlukes the poor merchants belonging to a caravan, with whom they fell in; and before justice could be done them, which in some cases the time and circumstances would not allow, two or three of them had been shot, a part of their merchandise either plundered or pilfered, and their camels exchanged for ours which had been wounded. The gains which resulted from these outrages, fell invariably to the share of the bloodsuckers of the army, the civil commissioners, copts, and interpreters; the soldiers, who sought every opportunity to enrich themselves, being constantly obliged to abandon and forget their projects, by the drum beating to arms, or the trumpet sounding to horse. The situation of the inhabitants, for whose happiness and prosperity we were no doubt come to Egypt, was no better. If, through terror, they had been obliged to quit their houses on our approach, on their return, after we were withdrawn, they could find nothing but the mud of which the walls were formed. Utensils, ploughs, doors, roofs, every thing, in short, of a combustible nature, had been burned for cooking; and the earthen pots broken, the corn, consumed, and the fowls and pigeons roasted and devoured. Nothing was to be found except the bodies of their dogs, killed in endeavouring to defend the property of their masters. If we made any stay in a village, the unfortunate inhabitants who had fled on our approach, were summoned to return, under penalty of being treated as rebels who had joined the enemy, and of being made to pay double contributions.”—*Denon's Travels*. 2. 10.

1799

the belles lettres for the labours of Vivant Dénon, who had a commission in the army employed on it.—Amidst scenes of war, and devastation, that ingenious artist was investigating the ruins of Thebes and other celebrated places of antiquity, and, by his accurate drawings, rescuing from oblivion the curious specimens of sculpture and architecture, the monuments of opulence and devotion, and enabling the learned to trace the progress of the fine arts to the remotest ages of the world.

The means adopted by Buonaparte for the advancement of arts, sciences and letters, although they must be considered as only accessory to the grand objects of his expedition, the conquest of Egypt and the ruin of the English trade to the East, are yet the most meritorious part of it. He appears to have been convinced that the splendour of military achievements would soon fade, if not accompanied with the more lasting fame arising from his patronage of these. And therefore, in the interval of active hostilities, he devoted his attention to their establishment in this country, and other measures which make some atonement for the bloodshed which his restless ambition gave occasion to.—Without adverting to his motives, it is a debt which candour owes to the merit even of an inveterate enemy to commemorate such actions. Whilst the artists, philosophers, and literati who attended him on this expedition were employed in their several departments as astronomers, naturalists, chymists, mechanics, antiquarians, he provided for their establishment in this country by founding a national institute at Cairo upon the model of those of Europe. He founded a public library there: and, that he might provide his colonists with a source of wealth and promote their intercourse with other nations, he established a commercial company in that capital.—He visited Suez, an ancient, decayed mart situated on the southern side of the isthmus which divides the Mediterranean from the Red sea. He encouraged its trade by lowering the duties before paid to the bashaws, and setting on foot a caravan for the conveyance of merchandise to and from Cairo. He also inspected the traces of the canal by which an attempt had been made to connect the two seas; and ordered an engineer to take an accurate survey of it.

These measures, which, abstractedly considered, must be acknowledged to

* Annual Regist. 47.

to be meritorious, are, unfortunately, so interwoven with Buonaparte's designs against Great Britain that it is with difficulty that we can sever them. But, if we cannot give him the credit which his actions deserve without sacrificing our feelings as patriots, we may reflect that an acknowledgment of the merit of an enemy is one of the noblest efforts of a liberal mind. And it is deserving our attention to consider whether, while we do honour to ourselves by giving him due credit for these actions we may not render them beneficial to ourselves and the world as a stimulus to exertion on our own parts: whether we may not defeat the purposes of our enemy, in the fairest and most honourable way, by such a faithful discharge of our duties in our individual, civil, and political capacities as may promote the welfare of our country, and give stability to a constitution under which we have so long flourished.

1799

That Buonaparte had such views in forming his settlements in Egypt, we may deduce from a letter addressed by him to Tippoo Saib on his landing in this country. "Buonaparte to the most magnificent Tippoo Sultan, our greatest friend. You have learned my arrival on the shores of the Red sea, with a numerous and invincible army, wishing to deliver you from the yoke of England. I take this opportunity to testify my desire for some news relating to your political situation, by the way of Muscatti and Morea. I wish you would send to Suez or to Cairo, an intelligent and confidential person with whom I might confer. The most High increase your power and destroy your enemies."—The reader is referred to the history of the East Indies for the transactions and occurrences which followed in consequence of this address. Having given the link which connects the histories of the eastern and western world, and shewn that the war which ensued on the peninsula of India, and which proved fatal to Tippoo Saib, was undertaken at the instigation of Buonaparte, and originated in that inveterate enmity to the British nation which is the basis of his political system, we now resume the narrative of occurrences in Egypt.

When the nations of Europe, reflecting on the strength of the confederates who now threatened an attack on Buonaparte on the one hand, and on the victory of Aboukir, by which his power in Egypt was confirmed

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* Annual Register. 48.

1799 on the other, were waiting with the utmost solicitude the event of things in this country, they were astonished to hear that he had left Egypt, and was arrived in France.—Before we give the particulars relating to his return, it is proper to take a retrospective view of the domestic affairs of France, and attend to the present state of that country.

We have seen the prevailing democratic party, in the directory and the grand council, triumphing over the moderatists in the contests between them, in 1797, which terminated with the repulsion of some of their adversaries and the banishment of others to Guiana. These acts, though vindicated as necessary to the maintenance of the expublican system of government against the designs of its enemies, being notoriously unconstitutional as well as unjust, the democrats were still apprehensive of danger from that powerful party in the state and nation who were averse to them, and would avail themselves of such a violation of national rights to raise a clamour against them. And their apprehensions were heightened by intelligence that Pichegru and some others had escaped from their place of exile, and were returned to Europe.⁴—They dreaded the consequences of the annual election. As an effectual expedient to maintain themselves in their present stations, they proposed an act similar to that of the British legislature by which the triennial had been converted into a septennial parliament, to secure the existing establishment in Great Britain. And when this was not approved, every mean was used to secure a majority of the electors in favour of their partisans.

But all this was not sufficient to give them the desired security. Tyranny must ever be supported by new acts of violence. Finding that, after all their precautions, the elections in some parts had been unfavourable to their interests, they availed themselves of their great majority in the two councils to annul the whole of the elections made in seven departments, and to declare those of a considerable number of individuals illegal, on the grounds of irregularity in the elective proceedings, and their being persons whose principles were inimical to the constitution. ||^v

The same disregard of the rules and principles of the constitution, by which the democrats had possessed themselves of absolute power, is observable

|| May 7. 1788.

⁴ Annual Register. 90.

^v Idem. 88.

observable in their exercise of it. Every place of assembly, and every public paper, was suppressed that was known to be unfriendly to the present system. And if a reason for such arbitrary measures was required, all further interrogations were prevented by saying, that they were hostile to the constitution.—In the mean-time, every mode of speculation was practised by the prevailing party.² Enormous taxes were imposed, and confiscations were made without mercy, upon the slightest grounds, to gratify the rapacity and profusion of the directory, and their adherents. And because the present laws against priests and royalists did not furnish them with sufficient means of plundering, they passed other acts to increase the number of offences punishable by confiscation. Moreover, in order to intimidate their adversaries, they, by an act of the legislature, instituted an inquiry into all the attacks which had been made against persons and property, public and private, from motives of enmity to the public and its friends.⁷

Their transactions with foreign nations were disgraced with the same shameless venality.—The American states having offended this government by a commercial treaty concluded by them with Great Britain in 1796, and the amity which they discovered towards that crown, a decree was immediately passed, “that the vessels of neutral nations should be treated in the same manner in which those nations suffered themselves to be treated by the English.”—This was followed by another decree in 1798 more directly pointed against the Americans: “that all ships having for their cargoes, in whole or in part, any English merchandise, should be held lawful prizes.”

The American states, feeling themselves aggrieved by the numerous captures made by virtue of these decrees, and being desirous to preserve peace with France, dispatched Mr. Pinckney, as their envoy, to negotiate an amicable arrangement with the French government.—That minister was refused an audience by the directory. But Mr. Adams, president of the congress, persevering in his endeavours to preserve peace, dispatched other ambassadors, in the late autumn, who experienced a more friendly reception.—The curtain was now drawn aside, and the mystery which had attended Mr. Pinckney's failure was revealed. In the repeated interviews

between

² Annual Register, 89.

⁷ Idem, 98.

1799 between them and monsieur Talleyrand, secretary for foreign affairs, and his agents,† the particulars of which are too numerous to be here recited, it was clearly evinced that it was the intention of the directory to prevail on the American states to devote themselves to the interests of France, by representing the danger of persisting in a friendly intercourse with a state whose ruin was inevitable, and to drive them, through fear, to participate with them in the disgrace of an infamous transaction, as the mean of securing the alliance of France.*

The same policy was practised towards Portugal. She was threatened with an invasion on the side of Spain, to force her to declare against her ancient and faithful ally the king of England. Augereau was called from his command on the Rhine to take the command of the army destined to that expedition.^a But the directory were on this occasion disappointed of their ends. Portugal was unwilling to desert her ally, and was too poor to gratify their rapacity. But either a repugnance on the part of Spain to concur in an invasion which must endanger the tranquillity of her own realms whilst it brought on her a vast expence, or the employment given to the arms of France on the side of Germany and Italy, and the war which it was carrying on in Egypt, prevented the government from executing its threat against Portugal.^b

Other causes concurred to render the nation disaffected towards the directory, which it was not so much in their power to remove. A forcible requisition of men or money for the national service must, under the most favourable circumstances, be unpopular. But when this is made to support a war in which a nation does not feel itself deeply interested it becomes much more so. Even the French people, who had been taught to consider the success of the war as essential to the maintenance of their favourite republican form of government, groaned under the weight of taxes imposed on them and the numerous levies which were continually made for carrying it on; and were disgusted at the peculation, venality, and abuses of power, which they could not but observe in their rulers. But these grievances had excited more discontent in the Flemings, who never had the same national prejudices, and began already to entertain

† Appointed in 1797.

* See America.

^a Dumouriez's Sketch, 86.

^b A. R. 100.

tain sentiments of the French government very different from those which induced them to consent to an incorporation with France.—Their affections had been alienated from the emperor Joseph by his restless spirit of innovation, and the tendency of his regulations and new institutions to the establishment of absolute power. Disgusted by his injudicious and arbitrary conduct, they became willing dupes of the seductive artifices of the French emissaries sent among them, and were themselves instrumental in forwarding their grand design of conquering the Austrian Netherlands, and making the Rhine the boundary of France on the side of Germany and Holland. But they soon had cause to repent of having exchanged evils which were rather in idea and apprehension than reality, for actual oppression from a power which they could not resist. Their disaffection to the French government first manifested itself during a descent made by the English on their coast, in the late year. † This expedition failed of success. But the inhabitants of the neighboring districts discovered an evident disposition to assist the invaders, and were prevented from taking up arms in their support only by the want of a sufficient force to protect them. The failure of that enterprise was followed by a short period of quiet. But when to the evils of enormous taxes, contributions, and confiscations, were added those of military conscriptions, which had before been confined to France, and men were torn from their families to execute the ambitious projects of the French government, their eyes were opened to the delusion by which they had been before deceived, and they were convinced by dear-bought experience, that the form of a republic does not exempt men from tyranny. Their patience was, at last, exhausted: and a general spirit of disaffection prevailed.—It made its appearance in open revolt first in the district of Waes, on the Scheldt, in the late autumn; and instantly spreading itself through Brabant, it, in a short time, drew 6000 men to the revolted standard.

General Beguinot, commandant of Brussels, and Bonnard, who commanded the troops sent against them, were active in suppressing them: and their measures were attended with temporary success. But the rebellious spirit, which was only stifled, was continually breaking forth; and

† May 1798.

• Annual Register. 118.

1799

and the malecontents renewed their resistance to government, and their outrages against those who were commissioned to execute its orders, as soon as the force was removed which had compelled submission.—Their numbers grew more formidable towards the close of the late year. The tree of liberty was cut down; and the tri-coloured flag was torn in pieces: and the standard of revolt was hoisted, with a motto alluding to the particular grievance which had given occasion to their rebellion. “*It is better to die here than elsewhere.*”—All their efforts, however, were fruitless; as it must ever eventually be, where mere bodily force, acting without any concerted plan, is opposed to a disciplined army, commanded by an experienced general.—The Belgians perceived their error, when it was irretrievable, in having assisted in subjugating themselves to the French government. The whole country was, for some months, a scene of intestine tumult. The revolvers committed outrages which only furnished the republican commanders with a plea for remorseless rigour towards them. Their own force was not sufficient to free them from oppression: nor was there any power ready to support them in the moment of revolt. And the issue of the struggle was, that they were constrained to submit reluctantly to the yoke which they had put on their own necks.

From these facts and these events relative to the domestic and foreign affairs of France we are enabled to form some idea of the character of the French ministry and the present state of the republic. The directory had been successful in enforcing submission to its arbitrary decrees, and had practised gross peculation and corruption with impunity: but tyranny must ever be odious, and venality must ever render an administration contemptible which is base enough to practise it.

Of all these circumstances Buonaparte was informed by his partisans in France: and we now find that enterprising adventurer, that dauntless military chieftain, who had acquired the admiration of the French nation by his achievements, assuming a new character; and, as a politician, availing himself of the errors and maleconduct of the ministry, as well as the public opinion of his own merit, to effect a revolution in the state, and to possess himself of the sovereign power.—It may be remarked of Buonaparte, that, with an ambition that stimulated him to the most arduous enterprises, he possessed that secrecy which is often of signal advantage

advantage in the execution of them, but which, in a political character, savours of darkness. Enveloped in his own thoughts, he silently meditated his ambitious schemes, without putting it in the power of a confidant to frustrate them by betraying his secret. This was particularly observable at the present most important crisis, when his departure from Egypt might have been deemed a desertion of the troops which had served him so faithfully, which had devoted their lives to the accomplishment of his favourite enterprise, and which, if apprized of his intention, might, in their disgust, have made him a victim to their resentment. For these or other reasons which have not been made known, he practised the most profound secrecy in the execution of his design. Admiral Gentheume, whom he instructed to prepare the frigates which were to convey him to France, was not informed of their destination; nor was general Kleber, who was to succeed him in the command, apprized of the honour which awaited him. Generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, Andreossi, Marmont, and Bessieres, with Bertholet, Mongé, and Arnaud, three men of science, who were all to accompany him to France, came to the place of embarkation on the twenty-second of august, in conformity with a letter addressed to them; but Berthier alone, even then, was made acquainted with his intention.—Agreeably to his orders, Kleber opened a letter which the general left for him, twenty-four hours after he had sailed, expressing the regret with which he left the army and the expediency of his returning to France, and appointing Kleber to succeed him as commander in chief.

He, fortunately, escaped the hostile fleets which were cruising in the Mediterranean: and, having touched at Ajaccio in Corsica, he proceeded on his voyage, and reached the little port of Frejus on the seventh of october.

That enthusiastic fondness with which the affections of the French nation are ever devoted to some object, whether he be a monarch or a chieftain, whose fame or grandeur they can consider as blended with their own, was now remarkably exemplified. A prodigious concourse of people attended him throughout his journey to the capital: He was perpetually hailed with joyful acclamations: the cities and towns through which he passed rivalled each other in their adulation of him. But all these were exceeded by the plaudits and caresses with which he was received by the Parisians, when he made

1799 made his appearance at the theatre.—The simplicity of his dress, so decorous in those who derive distinction from their achievements, gave additional effect to the popular address which he assumed on this occasion, especially towards the soldiers that had served under him.

The festival which was celebrated in honour of him, a few days after his arrival, was attended with circumstances strongly characteristic of the French nation, as well as of the object of their adoration.—That he might not be disappointed in his views by that envy which an excess of good fortune is apt to excite, he modestly requested that Moreau might be joined with himself in the honours intended by the celebration, and treated that general with the affability of an equal and the respect due to his merit.—The church of St. Sulpice was transformed into the temple of victory. The walls were decorated in a most magnificent manner with the richest tapestry; and the captured standards which were displayed were so many trophies to the generals by whose valour and good conduct they had been won.

Amidst these gay scenes of festivity, which lulled suspicion asleep, the plan of another revolution in the government was formed.—In this enterprise Buonaparte was assisted chiefly by the abbé Sieyès, who had succeeded Reubell in the directory, a man of deep thought, endowed with much sagacity, and with great judgment and discernment in whatever relates to politics; dark, sullen, intriguing, and possessing *the arts of fine persuasion*, which gave him an ascendant over those whom he meant to make the instruments of his Machiavelian policy: he was, moreover, particularly happy in devising expedients for the execution of his designs. His ambition was not accompanied with Buonaparte's adventurous spirit: he valued himself on influencing the actions of others and directing the machine of state, without taking such an active part in the public councils as might endanger his own safety.—They first admitted to their confidence monsieur Rhoderer, a man of business, and a strenuous republican, who had been solicitor to the municipality of Paris in 1792, and had taken an active part on many occasions in the course of the revolution: and, when they had digested their plan, they communicated it to a few others whom they deemed most capable of assisting them in the execution of it.

It might have been difficult to have made the body of the people sensible

• • Otway.

of the defects in the present constitution, and still more so to have prevailed on them to concur in subverting it, had they not been under the pressure of some personal grievance. Not all the taxes which had been laid on them for carrying on the war, nor the conscriptions for supplying men for the military and naval service, had so fatal an influence in rendering the government unpopular, as the law of hostages, passed this year, 1799, whereby it was decreed, among other articles, "that when a department or commune was notoriously in a state of civil disorder, the relations of emigrants or nobles, comprehended in the revolutionary law of the third year of the republic, their fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, and individuals who, without being relations or ex-nobles, were known to form part of the assemblies or bands of assassins, should be personally or civilly responsible for whatever assassinations or robberies should be committed in their communes; that, whenever disorders should take place, the administrations of the departments should take hostages among these classes; and that they should be authorized so to do, even before any declaration of such department or commune being in a state of disorder; that these hostages should surrender themselves, on demand, in such places as should be pointed out, and that a delay of ten days should incur constraint by force. If a murder was committed on any public functionary, defender of the country, or purchaser of national domains, or any person of this character carried off, four hostages were to be banished for each person so murdered or carried off, beside a fine of 6000 livres. Every hostage was made responsible for the payment of 4000 livres, in case of any murder in his community, to be paid into the public treasury; of 6000 to the widow and 3000 to the children of the person assassinated; which indemnity was allowed likewise to every person mutilated. The same responsibility was also extended to whatever damage or waste was committed against property. And the law was to have its full force till the conclusion of a general peace."

This law, the tendency of which was to throw a great part of the nation at the mercy of the directory and their agents by rendering them liable to fines and imprisonment, was the signal of revolt in several provinces, and

was

July 12.

Annual Register, 1800. 6.

1799 : was the cause of discontent in all. Those of Mayne and Normandy, and an extensive district on the Loire, were in a state of actual insurrection; and the malecontents were headed by persons of weight from their property and character.

The abbé Sieyes, though a strenuous revolutionist, was, at this time, one of the chiefs of the moderate party. He was convinced of the expediency of strengthening the executive power; and was an advocate for vesting it in a chief magistrate, assisted by a senate, whilst the republican form of government should be, in some degree, preserved. Cautious and reserved, he had kept his thoughts on these subjects concealed in his own breast during the prevalence of the democratic parties, and had been on terms of friendship with many of their leading men. But he now saw a favourable opportunity for executing his plan, afforded by the public opinion of the present government and the odium which the directory had brought on themselves by the law of hostages; and he found in Buonaparte a proper instrument for effecting it.

The first step taken by the partisans of the intended revolution, after securing a majority in the council of elders, was to avail themselves of a law, passed in 1795, enabling that body to change the seat of the legislative assembly, to remove it to St. Cloud, under pretence that the jacobins were conspiring against the constitution, and that the removal was necessary to the independency of the legislature.† “Due protection,” said the advocates of this measure, “was now about to be afforded to liberty and property; the constitution would now be restored, the reign of terror and factious intrigue overthrown, and a basis established on which foreign powers would treat with confidence for peace, which was, indeed, the grand object of the present measure.”

They had made their previous arrangements with so much privacy, that, of the five directors, two only, Sieyes and Ducos, were apprized of their design before the ninth of november, when it was to be carried into execution. On the night preceding, Buonaparte, who had been invested by the council of elders with the command of the troops at Paris, posted several bodies of troops at the different avenues leading to the hall of assembly,

† November 9.

§ Annual Register. 1800. 12.

assembly, in the *thuileries*. In the morning, he was seen at their head, surrounded by his staff officers; and, by the facility with which he accomplished this preparatory measure, he afforded sufficient matter of conviction to all men of reflection, that, however the form of the constitution might be changed, it was intended to be an absolute, military government.—“The army” said he, in an harangue to his troops, “has cordially united with me, as I cordially act with the legislative body.”—Nothing is easier than for an artful leader to impose on the minds of an unthinking audience, and to cover his real intentions from them by such specious language.—The troops, of course, became willing instruments in effecting a revolution which they foresaw would promote their own interests through the power which would be vested in their favourite general; and the people readily acquiesced in what they hoped would be a means of delivering them from the existing tyranny.—The three directors who were adverse to the measure attempted an opposition to it. They ordered general Lefebvre, who commanded their guard, to surround the house of Buonaparte with his troops. But that officer answered, “that he was then under the orders of Buonaparte, as commandant of the troops at Paris.”

1799

Perceiving that they were left without resource, the opponent directors now thought only of escaping the vengeance of their adversaries. Barras made his peace by a resignation of his office.—Moulins disappeared.—And Gohier gave the measure his sanction, as president of the directory, by putting the seal to the decree for the translation to St. Cloud.^a

Conformably with this decree, the two councils, of elders and of five hundred, met on the ensuing day at the palace of St. Cloud:† and the warmth of their debates was expressive of a conviction that the proceedings of that day would finally determine the fate of the two parties.—The directorial partisans in the council of the elders would willingly have arrested their proceedings by calling in question the legality of their removal to that place.

This matter was still agitated when Buonaparte, entering the hall of the elders, addressed the assembly in an harangue intended to convince them of the imminent danger which threatened the nation from the machinations of

† November 10.

^a Annual Register, 1800. 18. 16.

1799 of men who were at that instant plotting against the commonwealth.
 “ *Your solicitude* for the salvation of your country has called me to come
 “ before you. I will not dissemble, for I will speak always with the frank-
 “ ness of a soldier. You stand on a volcano; but you may depend on
 “ our devoted attachment.—Let us not be divided; associate *your wisdom*
 “ to the *force which surrounds me*. I will be nothing but the devoted arm
 “ of the republic.”—To this, one of the members, who was desirous that
 the general should be forced to declare his whole scheme of policy, which,
 he knew, would disgust the advocates of the present constitution, added, in
 a loud voice, “ And of the constitution.”——“ The constitution!”
 resumed Buonaparte, fired with indignation, “ does it become you to
 “ invoke the constitution? have you not trodden it under your feet on
 “ the eighteenth of fructidor, on the twenty-second of floreal, and the
 “ thirtieth prairial? The constitution! Is it any thing else than a pretext
 “ and a cloak for all manner of tyranny? The time for putting a period
 “ to these disasters is now arrived. You have charged me to present you
 “ with the means. Had I harboured personal designs or views of usurpa-
 “ tion, I should not have waited till this day in order to realize them.
 “ Before my departure, and since my return, I have been solicited by the
 “ heads of different parties to take possession of the public authority.
 “ Barras and Moulins proposed to me to seize the government. I could
 “ make discoveries which would instantly confound the greater part of my
 “ calumniators. All the rights of the people have been atrociously violated;
 “ and still under the mask of a regard for the constitution. It is for your
 “ wisdom and firmness to re-establish those sacred rights, and to use means
 “ for saving the country.”¹

Cornudet, one of the elders, confirming what the general had said
 respecting conspiracies, the assembly was instantly in a flame.——
 Buonaparte, perceiving that his artful address had not produced its full
 effect, and knowing on whom, therefore, he must depend for the success of
 his ambitious project, went out of the assembly, and harangued the soldiers
 and people in the same specious language: “ Turn your bayonets against
 “ me,” said he, “ whenever you find me an enemy to liberty.”——
 Then returning to the hall, and addressing himself to the assembly, “ It is
 “ time

¹ Annual Register, 1800, p. 20.

"time to speak out," said he; "and I have no designs that I wish to keep
 "a secret. I am not the instrument of any faction; I am the servant of
 "the French people. The constitution, too often violated, is utterly inade-
 "quate to the salvation of the people. It is indispensably necessary to have
 "recourse to means fitted to carry into execution the sacred principles of
 "the sovereignty of the people, civil liberty, freedom of speech as of
 "thought, and, in a word, the realization of ideas hitherto only chimerical."
 —A warm altercation ensued between the members on the expediency of a
 change in the constitution, which ended in the assembly resolving itself
 into a committee, and adjourning till nine o'clock, in the evening of this
 day.

The proceedings in the council of five hundred, who were assembled in
 the orangery, in the mean-time, demand our attention.——Gaudin, a
 member of that assembly, after representing the dangerous situation of the
 commonwealth, moved, "that a committee of seven members should be
 "chosen, who should make a report on the actual state of the nation, and
 "should also propose such measures as they should think necessary for the
 "public interest."

The constitutionists, knowing that they must make a firm stand at this
 pass or give up the contest, when their opponents seconded Gaudin's
 motion, exclaimed, with one voice "The constitution! The constitution
 "or death! No dictatorship!"

Lucien Buonaparte the president, that he might appease the uproar,
 said, "I am too sensible of the dignity of my office any longer to suffer
 "the insolent menaces of some speakers. I call them to order."

The debates were, however, continued with much violence. And Grand
 Maison, after severely descanting on the present measures, moved, "that
 "a message be sent to the council of elders, requesting that they would
 "send them a detailed account of the vast conspiracy that was on the
 "point of overturning the republic: and that all the members should be
 "called on to renew their oath to the constitution."—Both these motions
 were agreed to, and approved by the cries of *Vive la republique! Vive
 la constitution!*

They had gone through the ceremony of taking the oath, and the
 attention of the assembly was engaged in some matters of less importance,
 when

¹ Annual Register. 1800. 21.

1799 when the door of the hall opened, and Buonaparte advanced, uncovered, followed by four grenadiers of the guard belonging to the national representation; whilst a number of officers and soldiers remained at the door.—A violent uproar ensued, on his entrance; and the hall resounded with the words Outlaw and Dictator! and exclamations against the interference of the troops in their deliberations.—Some of the members attempted to thrust him out of the hall by force: when Lefebvre, hearing the fray, suddenly entered the hall, at the head of a party of grenadiers, and rescued the general.

When the agitation into which the assembly had been thrown was sufficiently subsided, Lucien Buonaparte, addressing himself to the assembly, vindicated his brother with great composure and spirit. He admitted “that the commotion which had taken place was natural, and that the feelings of the house, on the occasion of what had passed, were in unison with his own. But, after all, it was reasonable,” he said, “to suppose that the general, in the step he had taken, had no other object in view, than to give an account of the state of affairs, or to communicate something interesting to the public: at any rate, he did not think that such suspicions ought to be entertained of him.” From this sentiment the constitutionists loudly expressed their dissent—exclaiming, that Buonaparte had that day sullied his glory.—“That he had conducted himself like a king”—and demanding that he be brought to their bar, to give an account of his conduct.

The debates, on the merits of the present measures being continued with increasing violence, Lucien Buonaparte put off his robes, declaring that he thus laid down the office of their president.—A fray ensuing, and some of the members advancing towards him with pistols, as if they meant to constrain him to resume his office, the general sent a party of grenadiers to rescue his brother.—He had been haranguing the troops on the insolence and violence offered him in the council, to prepare them to be instruments of his intended revolution, when Lucien arrived; and, mounting on horseback, he rode to the different regiments, and addressed them in animated language on the proceedings of the council. “I confide in the warriors, to whom I speak, the deliverance of the majority of their representatives from the oppression they are under, in order that
“ they

"they may deliberate in peace."—"General and soldiers," said he in an elevated voice, "you will not, I am persuaded, acknowledge as legislators of France any but those who shall rally round me. As for those who remain in the orangery, let force expel them."—Concluding his harangue with the popular cry of *Vive la republique!* the same was re-echoed by the troops and the populace. 1799

Affairs were now brought to a crisis.—The general, seeing that the troops were ready to support him, commanded a body of grenadiers to advance, the drums beating the *pas de charge*, the signal for an attack with fixed bayonets.—The troops entering the hall in this order, an officer said aloud "Citizens representatives, there is no longer any safety in this place; I exhort you to withdraw."—This was answered by a general cry of *Vive la republique!*—The officer, then, mounting the tribune, exclaimed, "Representatives, withdraw; it is the orders of the general."—The orders not being obeyed, and a tumult taking place, another officer called out, "Grenadiers, forward."—The drums beating the charge, and the troops advancing to the middle of the hall, the deputies at last departed; crying, as they went out, *Vive la republique!*

The contest in the council of five hundred being thus ended, a committee of five elders brought forward their report of the measures proper to be adopted at the present moment.—In this it was stated, "that the council of elders had become the organ of the nation, and, after what had passed, the whole of the national representation; that it was their duty, since it was in their power, to provide for the safety of the country and for liberty; that the executive power existed no longer, since military power was no more than the instrument of the executive, essentially civil. In consideration of these, together with the further circumstance, that four members of the directory had given in their demission, and that the other was under an arrest, the five elders proposed, that an executive, provisional commission, composed of three members, should be appointed; that the legislative body should be adjourned to the twenty-first of december; that an intermediary commission, for preserving the right of the national representatives be formed, which should be empowered to convoke the legislative power, if it thought proper; and that the assembly be adjourned till nine in the evening, as before

"resolved,

1799 "resolved, when the present measures should be taken into consideration."¹

Here was a manifest usurpation of the whole power of the state, avowedly by the interposition of military force, on the ground of necessity.—We shall be more competent to judge of the justifiableness of the measure on a review of the nature of the constitution* which was about to be established, and an observation of its practical effects.

The revolutionary chiefs, that their proceedings might have every sanction from the old system which was compatible with their views, caused such of the council of five hundred as were devoted to their interests to be summoned to an assembly of the elders at St. Cloud, under pretence of deliberating on the measures to be pursued.——Barringer, one of the deputies, having opened the council by moving, "that the officers and troops had deserved well of their country who had formed a shield for Buonaparte, and had saved a majority of the legislative body and the republic; attacked by a minority consisting of assassins," Chasal proposed the plan of an intermediary government, which was submitted to the consideration of a commission of five members.

During their deliberations, Lucien Buonaparte, passing from the president's chair to the tribune, addressed the assembly in a florid harangue, displaying the absolute necessity of the measures which they were adopting to save the country and the republic from impending ruin.—He was followed by Cabarris and Boulay de la Meurthe, who spoke the same sentiment; placing the merits of their conduct and of their plan of reformation in different points of view, to make the salutary tendency of it more manifest. "If the source of all our calamities," said de la Meurthe, "be the faulty constitution of our government, what must we do to remove them?" "Construct a new political edifice that shall be solid and durable. The basis or general principles of the constitution, were good. They were the principles of every republican government: the sovereignty of the people; the unity of the republic; an equality of rights, liberty, and the voice of the people declared by representation. But the constitutional superstructure, formed on those foundations, was essentially vicious, as experience had demonstrated. They must rise again, he said,

¹ Annual Register. 1800. 27.

" said, to the sublimity of those fundamental principles, and in them only
 " see the constitution, and their obligation to support it."* * *

The revolutionists having taken these means to prepossess their hearers and the nation in general in favour of their measures, the plan of an intermediary government; which was to be the outline of their intended constitution, was laid before the assembly of elders, and received their approbation.—This sanction being obtained, Lucien Buonaparte again addressed the assembly in language that might have led a novice in politics, or one who had not observed the general principles on which the revolutionary chiefs had acted, to have expected that the golden age of the poets was about to be realized in France. " Representatives of
 " the people," said he, " the liberty of France was born in the tennis-
 " court of Versailles. From the immortal day of the assembly at that
 " place to the present, it has been without efficacy, tossed about, a prey to
 " different factions, and subject to the weakness and convulsive maladies of
 " infancy. It this day puts on the *toga virilis*. The days of its convul-
 " sions are at an end. No sooner have you seated her on the confidence
 " and love of the French nation, than peace and plenty smile and sparkle
 " on her lips. Listen to the benedictions of this people, of her armies, long
 " the sport of intestine factions, and let their cries of acclamation penetrate
 " into the bottom of your souls. Hear also the sublime cry of posterity; ' If
 " liberty was born in the tennis-court of Versailles, she attained to due
 " strength in the orangery of St. Cloud. If the constituents of 1789 were
 " the fathers of the revolution, the legislators of the year eight are the
 " fathers and pacificators of their country.' Already is the sublime cry
 " re-echoed by Europe.—Every day it shall wax louder and louder, and
 " shall by and by fill the hundred mouths of fame. You have just created
 " a magistracy of an extraordinary and temporary nature, which may be
 " expected to restore order and victory, the only means of peace. Next
 " to this magistracy you have appointed two commissions to second its
 " efforts,

* Cabarris, in his answer to the objection made to this constitution, " that the executive
 " power is immense, and there is no security against its designs," says " we must have a govern-
 " ment full of vigour and life: if it were not created so, it would usurp, or it would quickly
 " perish, as happened in the case of the directory."—[*Annual Register*. 1800. p. 58.]—If this
 be true, what have the French gained, in point of freedom, by the revolution?

■ *Annual Register*. 1800. 35.

1799 " efforts, and the improvement of the social system, so dear to every
 " heart. In three months your consuls (who were present) are to give an
 " account of your proceedings. They are to labour for the good of their
 " cotemporaries, and of posterity.—They are invested with all the powers
 " necessary for doing good. No more acts of oppression, no more lists
 " of proscription, no more swinishness and immorality! Henceforth
 " liberty and security of property for the French citizens: a sure guarantee
 " for such foreign governments as are willing to make peace! And as for
 " those who are disposed to continue the war, if they have been unable
 " to prevail against France in a state of disorganization, and exhausted
 " by plunder, what can they do now?"*

The consuls, not relying on these rapturous eulogies on their own measures to conciliate the national attachment to their government, issued a proclamation in justification of the present revolution.† And Buonaparte, in a proclamation as commander in chief, after adverting to the transactions at St. Cloud, congratulated the nation on the exploit which he had performed for their welfare. " Frenchmen! you will recognise, without doubt, in this conduct the zeal of a soldier of liberty and of a citizen devoted to the republic. The ideas of preservation, protection, and freedom immediately resumed their places, on the dispersion of the faction who wished to oppress the councils, and who in making themselves the most odious of men, never ceased to be the most contemptible."*

When the conductors of the revolutionary scheme had advanced thus far in the execution of it, letters were dispatched to the foreign ministers, instructing them to announce to the courts where they resided that the consuls had taken the government into their hands: and the legislative committees of twenty-five members, divided into committees of five members each, entered on their functions; which consisted in the preparing laws of police, legislation, finance, a civil code, and a constitution.*

The first measure of the consular government was well calculated to impress the nation with an idea of its regard for freedom—that was a repeal of the law for the forced loan and the law of hostages which had brought

† November 12.

* See Appendix.

▪ Ann. Regist. 1800. 37.

• Idem. 41.

▪ Idem. 42. 43.

brought universal odium on the late government.—This was followed by a repeal of the severe decree against priests who refused to abjure loyalty; substituting a simple oath of fidelity to the present constitution. By a decree passed at the same time the churches were restored to the roman catholics, without restricting them, as before, to the decade, or tenth day: and freedom of religious worship was granted in the fullest extent.

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These measures were opportune and well judged, because they were calculated to prepossess the nation in favour of the ruling powers at the present critical juncture: but there was no department of government so arduous under the existing circumstances of the state as that of finance. To supply the place of the revenue which was to have arisen from the forced loan of 100,000,000 livres, a fourth part was added to all contributions or imposts on property, territorial, personal, and sumptuary. Moreover, the principal bankers of Paris consented to a loan of 500,000 livres, for the present exigencies of the state, secured by promissory notes from government.—These supplies enabled the administration to carry on the war without a relaxation of energy, while the committee of finance were devising expedients for providing further resources and reviving public credit.¹

Great complaints having been made of defects in the department of police, that it was destitute of unity and connexion, and afforded safety neither of person or property, as a remedy for these evils, it was now enacted, that the police appointed to discover robbers and preserve citizens from their attacks should be connected together in all its parts, from the centre of the system to its circumference, and that the power of imprisoning should be restrained.—Due attention was, at the same time, paid to the regulation of the marine and commercial departments.²

During these proceedings, the committee appointed to digest a new constitution had completed their work. Being submitted to the commissions of five hundred and of elders, in which Lucien Buonaparte and le Brune presided, after some debates, it was approved by a great majority and received the sanction of the whole. || —The reader is referred to an appendix for a particular account of this constitution. To convey a general

|| December 13.

¹ Ann. Regist. 44. 47.² Idem. 51. 52.³ Idem. 1800. 47. 58.

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general idea of its nature, it will be sufficient to delineate it, " as consisting of *three consuls*, or rather one chief consul and two assessors, " who have votes only in matters of secondary importance—a *conservative senate*—and a *legislative body*, divided into two parts, *tribunes* and " *senators*; the tribunes to reason, or plead on any proposition, but not " to vote; the senators to vote and decide silently, but neither to argue, " nor even declare the grounds on which they give their opinion."

Thus, after the several changes which the French government had undergone, from an absolute to a free monarchy, from a free monarchy to a tyrannical democracy, and from a democracy to an oligarchy which had brought extreme reproach on itself by the abuse of power, the French nation was destined to be subject to a government which has, indeed, the appearance of freedom, but which was established by the bayonet, and in which the whole executive power is virtually vested in one chief magistrate, who is also commander in chief and has the army at his devotion.* —Whether, with the ardour, the military talents and address of a general, he possesses the temper, discretion, and judgment of a statesman, whether his natural disposition or motives of policy may lead him to demean himself with such moderation and prudence as may recommend him to the national esteem, or the French nation may once more find themselves amused with the semblance of liberty without the effective enjoyment of it, and may see the authority and revenue of the state employed for the aggrandizement of him to whom they have intrusted the executive power, his subsequent conduct will prove.

A new administration was now formed, in which Cambaceres and le Brune were joined with Buonaparte in the consulate. Gaudin was appointed minister

* Ferguson's observation on the influence of climate and other circumstances in which the characters of nations originate is very applicable to the events of the French history during this period of revolutions. " The frequent vicissitudes and reverses of fortune which nations have " experienced on that very ground where the arts have prospered, are probably the effects of a " busy, inventive, and versatile spirit, by which men have carried every national change to " extremes. They have raised the fabric of despotic empire to its greatest height, where they " had best understood the foundations of freedom. They perished in the flames which they " themselves had kindled; and they only, perhaps, were capable of displaying, by turns, the " greatest improvements, or the lowest corruptions, to which the human mind can be brought."—*History of Civil Society*. 184.

* Annual Register. 1800. 59.

minister of finance; Talleyrand minister for foreign affairs; Berthier war minister, and Fouché minister of police. 1799

SPAIN.

Don Carlos experiences continually new evils from that depression to which he had suffered himself to be reduced. In the late year, we have seen him becoming the tool of France, to forward the interests of that state at the court of Constantinople, and his ambassador insulted by the reis effendi, and ordered to leave the Porte. And in the present he was constrained to hear war declared against him by the Russian emperor as the ally of the same power. 1799

PORTUGAL.

Her majesty having long been in a state of mental derangement, it was deemed proper that the prince of Brazil should take on him the government of the kingdom. He therefore issued a decree,† importing that, in virtue of the laws on which the Portuguese monarchy is founded, the rights of sovereignty had devolved on his person, and that, from the date of the present decree, all laws, acts, decrees, and resolutions should be formed in his name, as prince regent, during the queen's actual incapacity; and that he should be addressed as such in all proceedings of state. 1799

ITALY

† July 15.

Ann. Regist. 1800. 64.

State Papers. 242.

ITALY AND GERMANY.

1799

THE unreasonable requisitions made by the French plenipotentiaries at the congress of Rastadt, and the insincerity betrayed by the French government in the course of the conferences, had convinced the world that they were not disposed to peace; on the contrary, that they wished to protract the war, to gratify their rapacity and passion for aggrandizement.—It now became the prevailing opinion, that a renewal of hostilities was the only effectual mean to prevent the encroachment, to restrain the tyranny, and free themselves from the insolence of the directory, which was continually more inflamed by their success in dictating to the powers which had been engaged in the coalition against them.—Actuated by this persuasion, and encouraged by the signal victory which the English fleet had obtained off the mouths of the Nile, the courts of Vienna and Naples now concluded a new treaty and resumed their arms. The German diet issued a spirited *conclusum*, declarative of their determination to support the head of the empire in vigorous warlike measures for the maintenance of their rights and independency, and “calling on every member of the
 “ empire to hasten with patriotic zeal to raise to a quintuple the contin-
 “ gent which it ought to furnish, to the end that, by an energetic co-
 “ operation, all the enterprises and efforts of the enemy may be arrested;
 “ and that the exertions of the empire, combined with those of its
 “ supreme chief, may lead to a peace just, honourable, and lasting; which
 “ they have not yet been able to obtain, notwithstanding the ardour with
 “ which it has been sought on the part of the empire.”—Warlike operations, in the mean-time, were commenced at the different seats of hostilities. Whilst the Neapolitan army was advancing to join its allies in Lombardy, the Austrian armies, reinforced by strong bodies of Russian troops, took the field in Germany and Italy; and a very active campaign ensued, the events of which have been already related.

The Prussian monarch, still attentive to the immediate welfare of his realms,

*. State Papers. 261.

realms, and keeping in view the advantages which he hoped to derive from the friendship of France, denied that support to the coalition which alone could give it success. 1799

Soon after the recommencement of the war in which the court of Rome had originally engaged with so much zeal, it was deemed expedient to remove the aged pontiff further from the seat of hostilities. He was forthwith conveyed to Valence in Dauphine; and was greeted on his route, and at the place of his final destination, with the respect due to his character and venerable age.—This was the last, and at present, perhaps, the most acceptable tribute that could be paid him. Before he had been many days at Valence, he breathed his last, after a short illness, in his eighty-second year.†

DENMARK, SWEDEN, AND RUSSIA.

THE kings of Denmark and Sweden persevered in their system of neutrality, and in the policy of making a period of peace conducive to the prosperity of their realms. 1799

Agreeably with these principles, the Swedish monarch addressed the diet, on his arrival at his majority, in a speech which, whilst it breathed the most manly sentiments of patriotism, gave the dietines the strongest assurances that it had been his grand object to promote the prosperity of his country, and the stability and dignity of the state, by a strict regard to economy and an improvement of the financial system.

The Russian emperor, in the mean-time, vigorously prosecuted the war-like measures which he had adopted in the preceding year.—We have seen the active part which his troops bore in the war in Italy and Switzerland. To render his support of the allied cause more effectual, he fitted out a fleet of twelve sail in the Baltic, to co-operate with the British fleet, and sent a squadron to join the Turks in their operations in the Archipelago.^a He declared war against the king of Spain, as the ally of France:^{bb} he concluded

† August 19.

^a Ann. Regist. 282.

^b Idem. 79.

^{bb} State Papers, 211. 282.

1799 } cluded a defensive alliance with Portugal:^c and he earnestly exhorted the German states to unite in a vigorous prosecution of the war with their common enemy.^d—He, moreover, entered into a new convention with his Britannic majesty, by which he agreed to provide 17,500 men for their projected expedition against Holland, on condition of receiving £88,000 for his first expences and £44,000 per month during the service of the forces.^e

Unfortunately for the allied interests, the result of the descent in Holland and of the campaign on the continent was such as created dissatisfaction in the emperor, and led to his dereliction of the cause which he had embraced, apparently, with so much ardour.—The defensive treaty which he concluded with the neutral crown of Sweden, after the close of the campaign, may be considered as indicating a disposition less friendly to the coalition.^f

TURKEY.

1799 } CONFORMABLY with the measures which Selim had entered upon and the engagements which he had made in the preceding year, he now commenced hostilities by sea and land.—His fleet, in conjunction with that of Russia, attacked the newly created French departments in the Ægean and Adriatic seas with considerable success; Cerigo, Zante, Cephalonia, and Corfu, being successively surrendered to them.^a—The sultan's land forces were, in the mean-time, employed in the defence of his provinces against the arms of France, for an account of which the reader is referred to the French history.

EAST

^c State Papers. 287. 77. 287.^d Idem.^e Idem. 27.^f Idem. 80.^a Annual Register. 80.

EAST INDIES.

LORD MORNINGTON had made great advances in his warlike preparations before the close of the late year; and the propitious events before related gave him a fair prospect of success. But, that he might avert the evils of war, if it could be done consistently with the company's safety and the dignity of the crown, he proposed, by letter to the sultan,† to send an ambassador to Seringapatam, to attempt the restoration of a good understanding between them in the way of negotiation; informing him, at the same time, that he had received intelligence of his hostile correspondence with France. To this Tippoo, after much delay, returned an evasive answer,‡ indirectly declining a compliance with the governor's proposals, and evidently intended to deceive, and to protract the correspondence, whilst he should strike some decisive blow, in conjunction with his confederates.*

The sultan's intentions were notorious: yet, that he might afford him every opportunity of amicable accommodation that was compatible with his plan for the ensuing campaign, lord Mornington, soon after his arrival at Madras, on the last day of december, dispatched another letter to him, wherein he indirectly charges him with the basest perfidy, by giving him in detail all the information which he had received relative to the negotiations and arrangements which he had entered into with France, whilst he was congratulating the governor on the victory of the English fleet in the Mediterranean; and at the same time repeated his overtures for a negotiation.—To this Tippoo, five weeks after, returned an answer which conveyed an indirect insult. After his accustomed bombast exordium, he said, with an air of indifference, that, “being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, he was accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion. You will be pleased to dispatch major Doveton
“ about

+ November 8. 1798.

‡ December 25.

|| January 9.

* Wood's Review. 16. and Paper C.

1799 " about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written, slightly
 " attended."^b

The governor-general, having thus thrown the blame of aggression on his adversary, with the accumulated guilt of the grossest perfidy, settled his plan of operations with his allies, and prepared for a vigorous prosecution of warlike councils, as the only means to avert the impending storm. The troops on the Madras establishment, assembled at Vellore, were reinforced with 4000 men from Bengal, the 6000 subsidiary British troops which were with the nizam, and 6000 of that prince's best cavalry and as many sepoys. The command of these forces, which formed, together, one of the finest armies that ever took the field in India, attended by an excellent train of artillery and well provided with all kinds of military stores, was vested in general Harris, an officer of distinguished merit.^c And when the correspondence with Tippoo Sultan was seen to be fruitless, he passed the Ghauts to Ryacottah, on the borders of Mysore, whilst general Stuart, with the Bombay forces, was instructed to co-operate with him on the Malabar coast, and colonels Read and Brown were stationed with a strong body of troops in the southern districts.

Tippoo and the French government, in the mean-time, had been carrying on their negotiations, each power intending to make the other an instrument for effecting his own political designs; the former for taking revenge on a power to which he bore a mortal hatred and reinstating himself in his lost dominions, the latter for supplanting the English in their East India trade and territorial possessions. For the final adjustment of their treaty of alliance, Tippoo had dispatched general Dubuc, lately arrived from Mauritius, as his ambassador to the French executive directory, in the late year, to solicit the support of ten or fifteen thousand troops and a large naval force, in driving the English out of Indostan.—To induce them to enter into alliance with him, he proposed, " that all the conquests
 " which may be made from the enemy, excepting those provinces, which
 " the king has been obliged to cede to the English, the Marattas, and
 " the nizam, shall be equally divided between the two nations, and accord-
 " ing

^b Wood. Appendix. Paper C.

^c Wood, 14 and 15.

“ing to their respective convenience.”^d And, in the confidence with which this alliance inspired him the sultan opened the campaign. ‡ 1799

Whilst the commander in chief was moving with the grand army from the east, general Stuart had advanced to the opening of what is called the Poodicherrum Ghaut, in the range of mountains which surround the Mysore country,* and had taken a position in the territories of the Coorga rajah, a friendly power.—His army was posted there in brigades on account of the nature of the country, which precluded the possibility of a more compact encampment, when the advanced division under Montresor was suddenly attacked by Tippoo, with a strong body of cavalry, in flank and rear. || This brigade did not exceed 1400 men, and it was separated from the other divisions by extensive jungles, or thickets: but they maintained their ground with impenetrable firmness against the superior numbers of the enemy who surrounded them, till Stuart brought them relief: and the event of a severe conflict was, that the Mysoreans were defeated and driven from the field with great slaughter.—Tippoo Sultan, after halting a few days at his camp near Periapatam, retired to the defence of Seringapatam. †

General Harris had, in the mean-time, been moving slowly from his station at Ryacottah towards Seringapatam; the vast incumbrances of his army preventing greater dispatch.—On his approach to Malevelly, Tippoo, who had before sent out parties to harass him on his march and to distress him by laying the country waste, advanced with his grand army and offered him

‡ July 20.

|| March 5.

† March 11.

* “The Mysore country is guarded by a range of celebrated mountains which rise to a surprising height, and oppose to the eastern borders of the Carnatic, a mural front with ghauts, i. e. passes. From the word ghaut, the whole chain derives its name: they give an entrance into the lofty, fertile, and populous plains of boundless view, which they support as buttresses do a terrace formed on an immense scale. The Mysore country being at least two thousand feet higher than the level of the Carnatic, is thence called the Table Land; the ascent to which is not to be accomplished even by a single traveller, without the fatiguing labour of many hours. The path-ways up the Ghauts are worked by the hand of man along the deep-worn channel of some rapid torrent, or skirting the hollow ravines and winding excavations, which have formed themselves on the face of this mountain precipice, and in many of these passes, the obstructions of art, as well as their natural ones, are opposed to the progress of an invading army.”—*Narrative Sketches*. 17.

^d Wood. p. 18. and Appen. Paper B. No. 22.

^e Narr. Sketches. 21.

1799 him battle. †—In the engagement that ensued, the right wing of the allied army attacked Tippoo's whole force, and, after a fierce conflict, broke his line of infantry on the right and put them to flight. Their left wing immediately gave way. Their cavalry, mean-while, having made an unsuccessful attempt on our artillery and baggage, they gave way on all sides, and left the confederates a victory easily obtained with the loss of seven men killed and fifty wounded.^f

Notwithstanding this success, general Harris expected further obstruction in his approach towards a city on the preservation of which the fate of the Mysorean empire depended. To avoid this, after making a feint on the right, the way by which lord Cornwallis had approached, he turned suddenly to the left; and, having easily effected his passage of the Cauveri, the enemy being prepared to oppose him in another quarter, he advanced to his place of encampment, within two miles of the city. ‡

The preparatory movements were all equally successful. While the commander in chief was on his march, colonels Read and Brown were well employed in reducing the forts in the Baramaul country, and collecting provisions for the grand army. And, when it had reached its destined point, colonel Floyd with his cavalry marched to meet the Bombay army, and escorted it safe to Seringapatam; Cummer ul Dien, who was sent against it, not daring to give them battle.^g

The sultan, who, no doubt, reflected on the event of the last siege, and was desirous, perhaps, to protract his enemy's operations in hopes of receiving a reinforcement from France, or that the want of provisions in the course of a long siege, might constrain the confederates to retire, or that the elements might come to his aid at the approaching monsoon, now endeavoured to retard the general's operations by opening a correspondence with him. In a short letter to the commander in chief, he declared that he had adhered to treaties, and asked what was the meaning of the approach of the English army and the hostilities commenced by it. || To this the general replied by referring him to lord Mornington's letters.

Not a moment, mean-time, was lost by the confederate general. As the

† March 27.

‡ April 7.

|| April 9.

^f Narrative Sketches, 34.

^g Idem, 41.

the besiegers were making their approaches, they were incessantly galled by the discharge of musquetry and rockets* from the numerous works thrown up for the defence of the city; and their ranks were thinned by the fire from the artillery of the fortress. But danger, with all the painful incidents of war in a sultry climate without wholesome water to quench their thirst, ** were set at defiance, and incessant labour in the trenches was borne with cheerfulness.***

1799

The

* "This is a weapon peculiar to the countries of Hindostan, combining the missile power of a javelin, with the impulse of gun-powder. From the force and irregularity of their motion, these flying plagues are difficult to avoid, and often make considerable havoc. The rocket consists of a tube of iron, about eight inches long, and an inch and a half in diameter, closed at one end: it is filled in the same manner as an ordinary sky-rocket, and fixed to a piece of stout bamboo, from three to five feet long, the head of which is armed with a heavy iron spike. At that extremity of the tube, which points towards the shaft of the weapon, is the match; and the man who uses it, placing the butt end of the bamboo upon his foot, points the spiked end in the direction of the object to which he means to throw it, and setting fire to the fuze, pitches it from him, when it flies forth with great velocity; and on striking the ground, by a bounding horizontal motion, acts with an almost certain effect in fracturing and breaking the legs of the enemy."—*Narrative Sketches*. 49.

** A writer who gives a narrative of the events of this war says that Tippoo's flying detachments poisoned the water in the tanks, or reservoirs, with what is called the milky hedge tree. "It was," says he, "the infused juice of this deadly shrub which seventeen British officers, captured with general Matthews, were compelled to swallow, by order of Tippoo Sultan, and all miserably perished in the prisons of Kaveldroog and Seringapatam."—*Narrative Sketches*. 37.

*** The hardships suffered by the troops in this country can scarcely be imagined by those who have not served here. "If any European recruits," says a writer who cites Monro, "should happen to do duty in the line, the march hardly commences before they get fatigued and overcome by the intolerable heat; they soon exhaust all their allowance of arrack, which is too frequently replenished by stagnant water, sometimes so muddy, rotten, and green, that it cannot possibly be drank without adding at least one half of spirits, and then it must be sucked or strained through a handkerchief; an expedient that in a short time knocks them entirely up. The veteran Europeans also, after a little while, begin to flag upon the march, being miserably scorched by the acute rays of the sun, which first dart upon the sand, and then revert with accumulated heat upon their faces. Notwithstanding that each soldier carries a small branch in his hand to fan off the myriads of flies by which he is constantly tormented, yet all his exertions yield him but little relief; for the battalion is so much covered by those insects, particularly if the weather be at all sultry and close, that at the distance of two hundred yards one would suppose they were actually clothed in black. It is really distressing to witness the severe struggles which the poor men often have, from the oppression of the weather, and the numerous diseases to which they are hourly subject. Some, from a redundancy of bile, drop down in a fit of insensibility, and are seized with violent cholera-morbis; others fall down suddenly in contortions

"with

1799

The siege had been carried on eleven days; and the enemy were dislodged from their advanced posts; and the allies had erected their first breaching batteries, when Tippoo made overtures for a treaty. †—In reply to these, the allied general sent him the preliminaries of peace; the chief of which were, that he should cede half his territories in perpetuity to the allies; that he should pay two crore of rupees to indemnify them for the expences of the war; and should renounce the alliance of France for ever. ‡

Perilous as was the sultan's situation, he was determined to continue the war at all hazards, resting on the strength of his fortress and the bravery of his troops, rather than accede to such ruinous and disgraceful terms of peace. He chose to fall with the arms in his hands, rather than suffer the chastisement of his breach of faith.

A dread of scarcity stimulating the besiegers, their operations were pressed with increasing ardour.—The breaching batteries being erected, the roar of artillery on each side was tremendous; and the scene became more interesting and awful as the assailants approached nearer to their object.

The sultan's situation now grew, every hour, more critical. On the twentieth day of the siege, † he made his last effort to avert his total ruin by negotiation; and, in reply, was referred to the propositions before sent him, with a small variation as to the number of hostages required by the allies.

When it was seen, that even despair did not constrain him to yield to them, the batteries were opened on the last day of april, and in three days a practicable breach was made.—The assault was then ordered, under the conduct of general Baird, supported by colonels Dunlop and Sherbrooke, appointed to,

“with the cramp; it runs acutely through every limb, and at last centres in the stomach, which kills the person afflicted upon the spot. But the coup de soleil is, of all others, the most fatal attack; it is in the crown of the head that this deadly blow is most commonly felt: the victim first finds his brains begin to boil, and a convulsive fit is the immediate consequence, of which he dies in a very few minutes; and so very violent is the effect of this disorder, that the body becomes quite putrid before a hole can be dug into which it may be thrown.”—*Monro's Military Operations.*

† April 20.

‡ October 28.

‡ Wood's Review. 20.

to command the two divisions.—Valorous exertion was now to take place of unwearied perseverance.—When Baird came into the trenches, and drew his sword, as the signal for the attack, three cheers resounded along the line. || The advanced guard, then, under cover of the fire from the batteries, plunged into the Cauveri; and, bearing down all resistance, they intrepidly sprung to the breach, the forlorn hope leading the way: so rapid was their ascent, that, whilst the rear division were struggling through the river, their passage being rendered more difficult by the loss of their guide, they saw the British standard fixed on the top of the breach, and heard the shout by which it was announced.

1799

The victory, however, was not yet won.—Tippoo now proved that, whatever were his vices, he had personal bravery worthy of a better fate. Placing himself at the head of his guards, on hearing of the assault, he hastened towards the breach, and rallied his retiring troops. Inspired with fresh courage by his presence, they made another firm stand, and the battle was continued with desperate fury. Amidst a dreadful scene of carnage, when the sultan, finding himself left almost alone, was passing from the rampart towards the palace-gate, he was slain in a conflict with a body of the assailants that surrounded him.^b

When this event was known, the contest soon ceased. General Baird took possession of the city: and the troops in the palace, where the young princes were, being summoned, were obliged to surrender at discretion.—By the death of the sultan and the reduction of his capital the allies effectually gained possession of the whole Mysorean dominions, the fortresses in different parts making little resistance to the forces sent against them.*

Such

|| May 4-

^b Narrative Sketch. 79. 86.

* "During the last seven years of Tippoo Sultan's life," says colonel Beatson, "his conduct had been a continued scene of folly, caprice, and weakness."—"All his actions of recent date seem to have proceeded from the impulse of the moment; and it is impossible to trace any one fixed principle on which he regulated his conduct."—To this weakness and caprice that officer ascribes some of his measures preceding the late war, and his conduct in it.—"It is hardly possible," says he, "to suppose that he wished to introduce the principle of equality among his subjects; but he disgusted all the men of rank and his father's servants by an indiscriminate and capricious mixture of men of the lowest rank with those of family and long services."

1799

Such was the termination of a war which did signal honour to the officers and troops employed in it, and to the governor-general under whose direction it was so ably conducted: a war which blasted the sanguine hopes of our European enemy, and gave the English company the peaceful possession of its territories:

The reader is referred to more voluminous works for an account of the immense treasures found in the sultan's palace and capital. In an historical view we are chiefly interested in knowing the manner in which his sovereignty and his territories were disposed of.

Happily for the company and British government, the mode of settlement which was most conducive to their safety was sanctioned by equity.—Hyder Ali had dispossessed the rightful rajah, Kistna Raije Warriar, in whose army he had served, of the exercise of sovereign power: but, that his usurpation might not excite a revolt, he affected to govern with the concurrence of the monarch who was in fact his state prisoner.—On the death of Kistna, in 1796, the less cautious and politic Tippoo Sultan laid aside this veil. Yet the son and widow of the degraded prince was suffered to live in poverty.—This heir to the Mysorean kingdom, only five years of age, was now, by a wonderful turn of fortune, brought from obscurity to be placed on the throne of Mysore.¹—The good policy as well as justice of this proceeding gave it general approbation. By raising the

“ services. He would promote a tipdar (commander of an hundred men), or a petty aumildar, to
 “ be a meer meeran, (the highest military rank); and raise a rissaldar to the honour of a
 “ meer ossof; or a wretched killedar, on the monthly pay of ten pagodas, to those of a mere
 “ suddoor.

“ During the whole of the siege he appears to have laboured under an infatuation that Seringa-
 “ patam was impregnable, and this idea was confirmed by the constant reports of his courtiers,
 “ who persuaded him, till within an hour of the assault, that the English would be obliged to
 “ raise the siege from want of provisions, and that their shot had produced little effect on the
 “ walls. In the morning of the fourth, however, on examining the works himself, his natural
 “ perception discovered to him the danger of his situation; but he never seems to have had an
 “ idea of yielding up his capital, even in the last extremity.

“ In short, the whole of his conduct since the year 1792 proves him to have been a weak,
 “ headstrong, and tyrannical prince, influenced in his views both foreign and domestic by a
 “ restless and implacable spirit, and totally unequal to the government of a kingdom which had
 “ been usurped by the hardness, intrigues, and talents of his father.”—*Colonel Beaton's View
 of the War, &c.*

¹ Wood, 24.

the rightful heir to the sovereignty the company secured an ally who was bound to them by all the ties of gratitude and interest. Moreover the act was recommended to the neighbouring powers, as well as our allies, by the prospect of tranquillity which it afforded them. 1799

The value of the territories ceded to the several parties interested was as follows.—The company's share was valued at 7,77,170 star pagodas: charged with 2,40,000 for the maintenance of the late sultan's family.—The nizam's share, allowing a jaghire of 70,000,000 to Cummer ul Dien, was 5,37,332.—The young sovereign's share was 13,74,076 pagodas.*—To merit the amity of the Marattas, who had been prevented by domestic broils from taking part in the war, a share of territory valued at 2,63,957 pagodas was allotted to the peishwa.¹

Such was the termination of the short-lived Mysorean grandeur, founded by the talents and successful enterprises of Hyder Ali, and brought to ruin by the restless ambition of his son.—By this event a complete ascendancy was given to the English company, or more properly speaking to the state under which it subsists.—May the English government in India be ever distinguished by the same moderation that is seen in the distribution of the conquered territories! May future administrations do equal honour to those who preside, or bear a part, in them, with the late and the present! May the native Indians ever have reason to bless the day when they were freed from the tyranny of Tippoo Sultan, and the ascendancy was transferred to a state which, with the balance of power in one hand may hold the balance of justice in the other!

AMERICAN

* "The present kingdom of Mysore," says Mr. Wood, "is nearly commensurate with the old in extent and revenue, though some of the constituent territory is different. Of the old kingdom, some provinces were below, and others, in which was the seat of government, above the Ghauts. The whole of the new kingdom is on the Table Land above the Gauts, remarkably compact, and with a strong frontier on every side."—*Wood's Review*, 27.

¹ Wood, 39.

AMERICAN STATES.

1799

HOWEVER expedient the president and his council might deem it to prepare for defence and for the maintenance of the honour of the state, they neglected no proper means for the preservation of peace. Consistently with their general principles of policy, on receiving assurances from the French government that their ministers would be received with due respect, envoys were again dispatched to France, with instructions to accommodate differences, and powers to conclude a treaty, subject to the constitutional advice and consent of the senate.^a

During these political transactions, every encouragement was given to trade, and every opportunity was embraced for the extension of it. This year, a new treaty was concluded with his Prussian majesty, which established a commercial intercourse between the subjects of the two powers upon the most liberal footing.^b

GREAT

^a Annual Register. 299.^b Idem. 1800. 298.

GREAT BRITAIN.

1800.

ON the meeting of parliament, early in this year,† the attention of the two houses was called, by a message from his majesty, to a letter which Buonaparte, now first consul of France, had addressed to lord Grenville, on the subject of peace; earnestly intreating his Britannic majesty to unite with him in restoring that blessing to the world.—This letter was laid before parliament, together with the secretary's answer, expressing his sovereign's feelings in terms of much disdain.—After adverting to the origin of the war, and the calamities which had been brought on the world by the restless ambition of the French rulers, to their disregard of the most solemn treaties, and the necessity of resistance to such a power "for the preservation of whatever remains in Europe of stability for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the exercise of religion," he declares his sovereign's willingness to accede to overtures of peace when he shall be convinced of the sincerity of the French governors, and their capacity of maintaining those relations of amity in which their predecessors in office had proved themselves deficient. "But the conviction of such a change," he said, "can result only from the evidence of facts. The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad: such an event would at once have removed, and will, at any time, remove all obstacles in the way

1800

" of

† January 21.

1800 " of negotiation and peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested
 " enjoyment of its ancient territory; and it would give to all the other
 " nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they
 " are now compelled to seek by other means. But, desirable as such an
 " event must be both to France and to the world, it is not to this mode
 " exclusively that his majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid
 " pacification. His majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what
 " shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall
 " vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and
 " powerful nation. His majesty looks only to the security of his own
 " dominions and those of his allies, and to the general safety of
 " Europe. Whenever he shall judge that security can in any manner
 " be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that coun-
 " try, from whose internal situation the danger has arisen, or from
 " such other circumstances, of whatever nature, as may produce the same
 " end, his majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with
 " his allies the means of immediate and general pacification. Unhappily,
 " no such security hitherto exists; no such evidence of the principles by
 " which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by
 " which to judge of its stability. In this situation, it can, for the present,
 " only remain for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers,
 " those exertions of just and defensive war which his regard to the hap-
 " piness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond
 " the necessity in which they originate, or to terminate on any other
 " grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of
 " their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence."

In answer to this letter, monsieur Talleyrand, French minister for foreign affairs, endeavoured to vindicate his government from the charge of aggression and imputed the blame of that war which had proved so calamitous to the unprovoked attack which the coalesced powers had made on the French frontier. He endeavoured to obviate the objections which his majesty had made to a treaty on the ground of the instability of the French government, by saying that he had treated with the republic when its constitutional system presented neither the strength nor the solidity which

* State Papers. 206. ap. Ann. Regist.

which it contains at present. And he again invited his majesty to open conferences for peace.—In reply to this, the British secretary again insisted on the validity of what he had before assigned as the causes of the war; and repeated his declaration of his sovereign's disposition to pacific councils, whenever they could be adopted with a proper regard to the security of his own dominions and of all Europe.^b 1800

Lord Grenville, in support of his motion for an address on his majesty's message, descanted on the unjust and unprincipled conduct of the French republic towards those monarchs and states which had made trial of its faith by entering into treaties with the governing powers in it; and on Buonaparte's breach of faith towards the Cisalpine republic, towards the Maltese, and towards the Porte. He argued hence that it might well be supposed that he did not at present act on more honest or disinterested principles: that he was desirous of a temporary cessation of hostilities as a mean for relieving the French government from the pressure of numerous and alarming difficulties; of deriving great benefit to their commerce by opening the ports of France, now blocked up by our fleets and cruisers; and of consolidating his own power by rendering the nation these services.

The secretary was answered by a speech from the duke of Bedford, in which he pointedly condemned the conduct of administration in rejecting the overtures for a treaty; he derided the wild scheme, which he ascribed to the ministry, of restoring the French monarchy, as the preliminary of a negotiation; and he, in the most forcible language, deprecated the evils which must ensue from the continuance of war, when the people should be driven to despair by the enormous burthen of taxes. Upon these grounds he moved for a counter-address, recommending the renewal of a negotiation for peace.—The prevailing sentiment in the two houses, however, was seen to be, that, great as were the evils of war, it was advisable to bear them with patience, rather than purchase a precarious peace by concession, which would enable our enemy to execute the design which he was insidiously meditating, of recommencing the war when he should be better prepared for it; and the result was that the motion for the address was supported by a majority of 79 to 6 in the house of lords, and 260 to 64 in the house of commons.^c

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^b State Papers. 208.

^c Ann. Regist. 76.

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The administration were encouraged to pursue this resolute line of conduct by the disgust which several of the continental powers had conceived against the French government, and their subsequent change of councils.—We have seen the king of Naples and other Italian powers crouching under the rod of Buonaparte, and the emperor frightened into a treaty of peace at Campo Formio, to save his German dominions from sharing the fate of the Milanese.—In consequence of this, a congress had been opened at Rastadt to negotiate a peace between the Germanic body and the French republic. This, however, failed of success. The parties had retired from Rastadt more incensed against each other by the incidents which had occurred during the conferences. The imperial Aulic council had vindicated themselves by a decree, in which it charged the French government with a notorious departure from the pacific principles on which it professed to act, pointing out the particular instances in which it had deviated from them. The emperor and king of Naples had entered into an alliance for their mutual defence against a power which had so grossly deceived them.† And the diet at Ratisbon passed a spirited *conclusum*,‡ wherein the German princes and states are called upon to join the emperor in vigorous preparations for the defence of the empire against the enterprises of their common enemy.

These events were propitious to the views of the English ministry: and they did not neglect to avail themselves of them to renovate the confederacy against France.—The Germanic states had resumed their arms in the late year, as we have seen in the French history; but their resources were soon exhausted.—The emperor then, had recourse, for pecuniary aid, to that power whose alliance is seldom sought, and whose friendship is seldom remembered, but in the hour of distress: we need not say that the power applied to was his Britannic majesty: nor need we say that the suit was granted. To relieve the emperor's pressing financial exigencies, arising from the vast expences of the war, his Britannic majesty agreed, by a convention now entered into with him,† to advance him the sum of £2,000,000, to be repaid by annual instalments of £20,000 after the conclusion of peace.^d

In

† May 19. 1799.

‡ September 7. 1799.

† June 20.

^d State Papers. 234.

In pursuance of this measure, and others of a similar nature which his majesty might find it expedient to adopt, to empower the confederates to carry on the war with greater force and energy than had been before done, the premier moved "that a sum not exceeding £500,000 be granted to his majesty, to enable him to make such advances as might be necessary for the purpose of ensuring a vigorous co-operation of the emperor of Germany, the elector of Bavaria, and others, in the ensuing campaign against the common enemy."†—After a warm discussion, this motion was approved by a majority of 162 to 19.*

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Though borne down by the minister's strong phalanx, the opposition were not disheartened.—Availing themselves of every favourable incident, they rallied after every defeat, and came again to the encounter.—The merits of the war and the expediency of continuing it were made the subjects of discussion by several motions, in the house of commons, in the course of the session: but a vast majority appeared, on every question, in support of the measures of government.†

Could any thing have discredited the premier's talents as a war-minister in the eyes of the nation, or weakened his party in the legislature, the ill success and disastrous issue of the late expedition to Holland would, probably, have had that effect. The minority did not omit to try their strength on this ground.—Early in the session, || Mr. Sheridan moved for an investigation of this affair.—Lord Holland made a motion of the same import in the house of peers, and enforced the propriety of an inquiry with argumentative and impressive eloquence. After expatiating on the merits of the measure, and expressing his sense of the good conduct of the officers and troops employed on the expedition, he came to the object of his motion: "It is necessary," said he, "to demonstrate the truth by a fair investigation. By no other course can you satisfy the demands of your national honour and your military reputation. At a moment, too, when it is decided that the war should be continued to a period which we cannot fix in idea, when new expeditions are, it is rumoured, to be undertaken, it becomes you to ascertain how they are likely to be conducted, by inquiring what has been the ability and the wisdom displayed

" by

† February 17.

|| February 10.

* Ann. Regist. 103.

† Idem. 104.

1800 " by those who plan and conduct them.—Is it not proper to inquire
 " whether ministers may not be again encouraging those delusions by
 " which they have been before misled? They rely upon the favourable
 " disposition of the French people to justify their attempts for the resto-
 " ration of the house of Bourbon. The proportion of the disaffected in
 " France seems, however, to be less than it was in Holland. If the expe-
 " dition to the Helder failed by the rashness, the negligence, or incapacity
 " of ministers, will you encourage them, by your acquiescence in past
 " misconduct and former disgrace, to embark in schemes so much more
 " doubtful in their policy, and likely to be so much more perilous in
 " their consequences? I move, therefore, that the house resolve itself
 " into a committee, to inquire into the causes of the failure of the late
 " expedition to Holland."^a

The motion was opposed with much ability by Mr. Dundas, Mr. Percival, and Mr. Addington in the lower house, and by earl Spencer and lord Mulgrave in the house of lords.—They maintained that the expedition had been undertaken on rational grounds; to rescue those who were averse to the interests of France from the oppression which they were daily experiencing from that state; and to make a diversion in favour of the allied armies on the upper Rhine: and that although it had not been productive of the full effect intended by its authors, it could not be said to have been fruitless; the imperialists having been essentially assisted in their contemporary operations, and the enemy weakened by the capture of the Dutch fleet. And they insisted that a disclosure of the secrets of government relative to this measure might be prejudicial to the state, and could answer no good purpose.—On these grounds a great majority in both houses gave their voices against the motion for an inquiry.

The premier was unshaken by these reiterated attacks, and undismayed by the increasing difficulties of his station. Before the close of this session, he received the most satisfactory testimony of approbation in the majorities which sanctioned his proposals relative to supplies; which amounted this year, to the enormous sum of £.48,076,250.^b

As the exigencies of the state demanded such an exertion of its pecuniary resources as astonished the world, so its increasing embarrassments called

^a Ann. Regist. 107.

^b Ann. Regist. 111. and ap. 168.

called forth all the powers of the premier and his coadjutors in office.—
 Whilst a jealousy of our naval strength and maritime importance, superseding a consideration of the true interests of Europe, was exciting the continental powers to oppose a state which was contending manfully for their independency, a further account of which will be seen in the ensuing year, the measures which it was thought necessary to adopt relative to our internal affairs added to the weight of government. And even those who do not approve the measures of administration in its foreign policy, must yet admire the fortitude of mind and transcendent talents displayed by the premier at this crisis, when they consider that, to the arduous business of providing resources for the most expensive war that the state had ever been embarked in, and giving security to the kingdom and energy to every department, was now added the painful task of suppressing tumults and guarding against the machinations of the seditious. These were now carried to such a height that it was found necessary to adopt such means for curbing the licentious and preserving domestic tranquillity, as the warm advocates of freedom deemed an infringement on their rights.—A consideration that licentiousness is the greatest enemy to liberty will induce its temperate friends to acquiesce in such measures, when seen to be absolutely necessary. But, as few men, whilst they are guarding against the abuse of power with vigilant attention, have cool reflection to convince them of the necessity of this acquiescence, a minister at such periods as the present will generally be exposed to the odium of arbitrary conduct.

So formidable had been the evils which threatened the kingdom from a conspiracy of domestic malecontents with our foreign enemy, that it had been deemed expedient to make a temporary sacrifice of the grand palladium of the constitution, the *habeas corpus* act, to the national peace and security.—A renewal of the suspension being proposed by the attorney-general, warm debates ensued in both houses. The injustice and the danger of thus tampering with the most valuable right of British subjects was strenuously insisted on by its opponents. “It was the opinion of the most celebrated political writers,” said lord King, “that this act ought never to be suspended but upon occasions of the most urgent necessity. Those occasions had been pointed out in the two last years: they were then apprehensive of foreign invasion and internal insurrection: but now
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“ they were desired to continue the suspension still further without any shadow of reason being adduced for doing it. The present mode of proceeding by his majesty’s ministers, therefore, he began to consider as a prelude to the making it perpetual.”—A passage in lord Holland’s speech on this subject, expressing his sentiments respecting the change in the public opinion on the French revolution, is deserving our notice. “ He confessed it not improbable that the rational principles on which the French revolution was commenced, the plausible, though pernicious, doctrines which had been professed in its later stages, and the splendid success which had attended the arms of the republic, might have dazzled many in every country in Europe, and made some in this country long to see the visionary theories of freedom reduced to practice. But was it not likewise probable that the dreadful atrocities which had been perpetrated during the revolution, the horrid crimes which had been committed in the name of liberty, and the final subjugation of France to a military government, had made many incline to arbitrary power, and adopt tory and high-church principles, who were formerly animated with a hatred to slavery?”—Upon this principle he recommended a resistance to this sacrifice of national right to prerogative.—In answer to these arguments, it was maintained, that the horrid principles which had occasioned the suspension of the habeas corpus had been weakened, but not wholly eradicated: that the disaffected, they had reason to apprehend, were prevented by fear of punishment from prosecuting their malicious designs: that, as there was the same reason for strengthening the hands of government, it was incumbent on the community to submit to a temporary deprivation of privilege, in order more effectually to enjoy the benefits of the English constitution.—Upon these principles the bill for a continuance of the suspension, and another for continuing an act for the better securing and punishing such persons as should attempt to seduce his majesty’s subjects from their allegiance, passed the two houses and received the royal sanction. †

During these transactions of the British legislature, the business of the union was brought forward in the Irish parliament by lord Castlereagh, as secretary

† In February.

Annual Register, 122. 129.

secretary of state, and the plan of it was laid before the assembly in eight resolutions. †—The first of these imported, that on the first day of january, 1801, and for ever after, the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should be united into one kingdom, by the name of *The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*.—(2.) That the succession to the imperial crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the imperial crown of the said kingdoms now stands limited and settled, according to the terms of union between England and Scotland.—(3.) That the united kingdom be represented in the same parliament, to be styled “The Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.”—(4.) That four lords spiritual of Ireland and twenty-eight lords temporal, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote in the house of lords of the united kingdom, and one hundred commoners be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons—the manner in which these shall be summoned and returned to the said parliament being first to be regulated by the existing parliament of Ireland.—(5.) That the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one episcopal church.—(6.) The sixth resolution imported that the two kingdoms should be admitted to the enjoyment of the same commercial privileges, as far as is compatible with their respective circumstances, and that a commercial intercourse should be arranged between them upon principles most conducive to their mutual benefit.—(7.) By the seventh it was resolved that the charge arising from the payment of the interests, and the sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively; that, for the space of twenty years after the union shall take place, the contribution for Great Britain and Ireland respectively towards the expenditure of the united kingdom shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two for Ireland: and that, at the expiration of that term the future expenditure of the united kingdom, other than the interest of the debt to which either country shall be separately liable, shall be defrayed in such proportion as the parliament of the united kingdom shall deem just and reasonable upon a revision of the resources of the said kingdom.—(8.) By the

† January 15.

1800 the eighth it was resolved, that all laws in force at the time of the union; and all the courts of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms shall remain now as by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations and regulations as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require.*

These resolutions were passed by great majorities in both houses of parliament; but not without a strenuous opposition from Mr. Grattan and other patriotic commoners, and a protest signed by a considerable number of peers, some of them men of great weight in the kingdom; expressing their aversion of the measure, as inimical to the liberties, independency, and true interests of the kingdom.[†]—Being transmitted to England, after having been again discussed in the British parliament, the plan of union received the legislative sanctions. ||

We cannot be surprised that the measure was opposed by men who valued national independency and national importance above every other consideration. But men of speculative minds, who had less of the high spirit of the Irish nation, looked forward with satisfaction to the intrinsic good that might be expected eventually to accrue from the union; to the time when the composed state of Ireland and the comparatively low price of labour would induce English men of capital to establish a variety of manufactures in this country; when affluent fortunes would be acquired by manufactures and commerce; and their innumerable ramifications provide employment and sustenance for the lower orders, and render them

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|| July 2.

* "The following were the peers who protested against the union.

" Leinster.	Massey, by proxy.
" Downshire.	Enniskillen.
" Pery, by proxy.	Belmore, by proxy.
" Meath.	Dillon.
" Granard.	Strangford.
" Ludlow, by proxy.	Powerscourt.
" Moira, by proxy.	De Vesci, by proxy.
" Arran.	William Down and Connor.
" Charlemont.	Richard Waterford and Lismore.
" Kingston.	Louth.
" Mounteshall.	Lismore.
" Farnham.	Sunderlin."— <i>State Papers</i> . 194.

* *State Papers*. 184.

† *Idem*. 196. 98.

" *Ann. Regist.* 122.

more industrious and happy; when the vast estates now in possession of individuals, many of whom were absentees, would, like the baronial estates in England after the reign of Henry the Seventh, be broken in pieces and pass into the hands of proprietors who will either improve the lands themselves, or, leasing them to the real occupiers upon reasonable rents, will encourage improvements by their inspection and assistance; when, in the words of the bishop of Landaff, "their bogs will be converted into corn-fields, their mines will be explored and worked, and their mountains will be covered with forests."—These, however, were objects which they could have in distant contemplation only. In the mean-time, they were constrained to hear the murmurs and complaints of those who judged only from what they expected to be the immediate effects of the measure.

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From these measures to harmonize the parts and consolidate the force of the British dominions, and, by increasing the wealth and resources of the kingdom, to enable it to contend on more equal terms with its foreign enemies, our attention is called to those tumults at the British capital which enhanced the difficulties of administration at this perilous crisis, and proved the expediency of those precautionary measures which had been adopted.*—The rigorous treatment of some prisoners for seditious proceedings, in the cold bath prison, affording them an occasion of complaint, they mutinied against the keeper, and attempted to liberate themselves. †—The populace then, assembling tumultuously about the prison, would willingly have assisted them in effecting their purpose, and were not without difficulty dispersed.*

A few days after, a seditious paper was found posted on the monument, ‡ inviting the people, who were distressed by the enormous price of

† August 14.

‡ September 14.

* The alarm occasioned by an attempt upon his majesty's life concurred with many other circumstances to justify the strong measures adopted by government for the preservation of internal peace.—"On the fifteenth of May, as soon as his majesty had entered his box at the theatre of Drury-lane, a pistol was fired from the pit, apparently at his person.—The man who fired it, whose name was Hatfield, appeared, on examination, to be disordered in his mind. The audience recovered from their momentary consternation on seeing that the king was unhurt: and the accident only afforded the nation an occasion to testify their loyalty."—*Ann. Regist.* 158.

" Annual Register. 211.

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1800 of bread, to redress their own grievances.—An alarming tumult ensued in consequence of it; and some outrages were committed towards those who were supposed to have aggravated the public distress by using indirect means to raise the price of bread. Happily, however, the tumult was quelled by the timely interposition of the city magistrates assisted by the volunteer corps, and the turbulence of the populace was repressed by the spirited and judicious behaviour of the lord mayor and the beneficence of public spirited individuals.*

So serious were the evils which threatened the nation from the immoderate dearth, that the city of London and other places earnestly intreated his majesty to consult the legislature respecting the best mode of remedying or palliating them. And his majesty, of his paternal care, instantly complied with their petitions; and, assembling a parliament early in the autumn, † he admonished the two houses to make the means of alleviating this distress and preventing its return the especial object of their regard.—After this he adverted to the correspondence which had taken place between his ministers and the French government on the subject of peace, and the causes of its failure, and declared his ardent desire to restore that blessing to his people.*

After

† November 11.

* Annual Register. 34. Chron.

* As the merits of a continuance of war rests much on this correspondence, it may be proper to give it more in detail than it could be conveniently done in the text.—“ In consequence of a notification from baron Thugut, on the ninth of august, that lord Minto, the British ambassador at the court of Vienna, had signified the desire of his Britannic majesty to be included in a negotiation for peace between the emperor and the French republic, Mr. Otto, the French commissary, or agent for the exchange of prisoners in England, was authorized to demand an explanation of the proposals of the court of London, and to request that a truce should immediately be concluded between the French and British forces, by sea and land. The British government declared its readiness to send a plenipotentiary to any place that might be appointed for a congress; but intimated at the same time, that an armistice with regard to naval operations had at no time been adjusted between Britain and France, during a negotiation for peace, or before preliminaries had been signed. That it could not, therefore, be considered as a step necessary to negotiation; and, that from the disputes to which it might give rise, it might even obstruct rather than promote a pacification. Mr. Otto answered, that France would insist on a truce with Great Britain, and that, indeed, the continuance of the German armistice would depend on the conclusion of a similar agreement with the English, as the advantages that might be derived from the latter would form an equivalent to the French for the obvious disadvantages

After a discussion of that part of his majesty's speech which related to the dearth, in the course of which various opinions were given respecting the causes of it, some of which discovered more of passion and prejudice than of information and reflection, Mr. Pitt proposed two modes for the relief of the public. One was an increased importation: the other, a combination of economy with the use of substitutes for wheaten bread. The latter was particularly eligible at such a crisis as the present, not only on account of its effect, but the feeling which it discovered for the sufferers, and a disposition to alleviate their sufferings and even to share with them in their distresses.—The general sense of the lower house corresponding with the premier's recommendations, they voted bounties on the importation of various kinds of grain. And three bills were afterwards proposed and passed: "to prohibit the use of grain in the distillation of spirits" and

"disadvantages of the truce with Austria. He afterwards presented a sketch for an armistice, importing that the ships of Great Britain and France should enjoy a freedom of navigation as before the war: that Belleisle, Malta, and Alexandria, should be in a similar predicament with Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingolstadt, and, that, accordingly, all French and neutral vessels should be permitted to supply each garrison with provisions and stores; and, that the squadrons which formed the blockade of Flushing, Brest, Cadiz, and Toulon, should return into their own harbours, or at least retire from the respective coasts. This plan, or in the language of the French projet, was objected to by the British government, as repugnant to the obvious and established principle of an armistice, by which neither party ought to acquire fresh advantages, or new means of annoying the enemy. Lord Grenville, the British secretary for foreign affairs, then offered a counter-sketch, more nearly corresponding with that principle of equality, on which alone his sovereign would consent to treat. It prohibited all means of defence from being conveyed into the island of Malta, or any of the parts of Egypt, but allowed the necessaries of life to be introduced from time to time: it provided for the discontinuance of the blockade at Brest, Toulon, and other French ports, but tended to prevent all naval or military stores from being conveyed thither by sea; and the ships of war, in those ports, from being removed to any other station. The French government, not satisfied with these propositions, offered this alternative; if Great Britain would agree to a separate negotiation, her scheme would be adopted. But, if she should insist on a general negotiation, the French projet must be accepted. Lord Grenville insisted on the terms that had been already offered by Great Britain. Mr. Otto now delivered a second projet: by which, among other alterations, small ships of war were allowed to go out of the French ports, and six frigates were to be permitted to sail to Egypt, discharge their cargoes at Alexandria, and return without being searched. After a fruitless conference on this new plan, Mr. Otto, on the fifth of october, intimated, that as some important events had completely changed the ground on which the proposed truce was to have been established, the general negotiation was at an end: but, he added, that the first consul was disposed to receive any overtures for a separate treaty with Great Britain: to which proposal the British government, true to their ally, gave a decided negative."—*Annual Register*. 212.

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"and the manufacture of starch; to prohibit the exportation of rice: and to enable his majesty to prohibit, for a limited time, the exportation of provisions."—A select committee was, moreover, appointed to inquire into the causes of the high price, and to devise the best remedies for the scarcity of provisions.*

Amidst these scenes of national disquiet and distress, the success of our maritime forces afforded the only agreeable object of contemplation.—The first of these deserving our notice were actions to annoy and distress our enemy.—In the month of June, sir Edward Pellew, with the squadron and land forces under his command, made a descent on the peninsula of Quiberon in Bretagne; destroyed the enemy's forts, and took or burned the small vessels of war lying there: after which he intercepted several ships laden with provisions destined to Brest, destroyed the batteries near Quimper river, and took five small vessels of war moored in Bour-næuf bay. An exploit performed by lieutenant Coghlan on this expedition deserves to be particularized. That gallant young officer, in a ten-oared cutter, with only a midshipman and eighteen sailors on board, attacked and boarded a gun-brig, mounting three twenty-four pounders and four six-pounders, having eighty-seven men on board, lying within pistol-shot of three batteries at the entrance of l'Orient harbour, and, after a sharp conflict, made prize of the brig.¹

About the same time, sir Charles Hamilton, with his squadron, made himself master of the isle of Goree, on the African coast, with the dependent factory of Joul.

In the month of July, captain Campbell, in the *dart*, made an attempt on the shipping, in the road of Dunkirk, and took the *la désirée*.

These enterprises were followed by others of greater importance in the latter part of the campaign.—In the month of August, sir John Borlase Warren sailed, with the fleet commanded by him, and a body of troops on board under sir James Pulteney, on a secret expedition. The primary object of it was the conquest of Belleisle. But when it was seen that the works on that island were so strong as to render an attack on it unwarrantably hazardous, he sailed for the Spanish coast, with a design to attack

Barro.

* Ann. Regist. 1801. p. 12. 16.
Bisset's George Third. 6. 377.

¹ Ann. Regist. 212. and

Ferrol. A descent was made near that port,|| and a skirmish ensued with a body of Spaniards, in which the British troops gave them a repulse. On reconnoitring the port from the neighbouring heights, however, the commanders, who were also informed by the prisoners that it was prepared for defence, thought it advisable to re-embark the troops.

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Although the British government was not encouraged to persevere in these enterprises against the coasts of our several enemies by any signal advantage which had arisen from them, yet it was deemed advisable to continue them, as the best means to distract their attention; and, moreover, as a cover for the grand expedition, projected for the ensuing campaign, against that French settlement in Egypt which Buonaparte intended to be the first step towards the subversion of the British power in India.—Before the close of this campaign,† lord Keith's fleet of twenty-two sail of the line and twenty-seven frigates, with 20,000 landmen on board, commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie, appeared off Cadix, and threatened an attack on that city.—The governor addressed a pathetic letter to the admiral, representing the deplorable condition of the place, where the plague at this time raged, and intreated him not to embitter the afflictions of the citizens, and bring down their execrations on his head, by adding the evils of war to the heap of their calamities.—The admiral and general replied, “that as the ships in the port were to be employed in augmenting the naval force of the French republic, and prolonging the calamities of Europe, an attack was to be averted only by a surrender of those vessels.—The governor rejecting these proposals with disdain, preparations were made for a descent. But when the strength of the place was considered, with its state of defence and other circumstances, it was thought expedient to retire.”

The British arms in the mean-time, had been crowned with success in different parts of the world.—In the East Indies our settlements were secured by the death of Tippoo Sultan and the final overthrow of his dominion.* In the West Indies, the Dutch settlements of Surinam and Curacoa, had fallen into our hands. And the conquest first of Minorca, and afterwards of Malta,‡ so essential to the success of our meditated

|| 24 1 25.

† October 15.

‡ September 15.

* Ann. Regist. 215.

• See East Indies, 1799.

1800 tated enterprises in the Mediterranean, were events which cheered the spirits of the British nation, and gave them a pleasing anticipation of good fortune. Among other advantages, these ports afforded excellent stations for the different divisions of our fleet; where they were prepared to enter upon the memorable expedition to Egypt, which will be given in the French history of the ensuing year.*

FRANCE, ITALY, AND GERMANY.

1800 At no period of his career did Buonaparte discover more judgment than in the general system of policy adopted by him subsequent to the establishment of the new constitution.—He was sensible of the weight of public opinion, and conformed his conduct to it. He knew that the nation were disgusted with the tyranny and malepractices of the directory, and looked forward with sanguine hopes to a more just and liberal administration of government under the present system; that they had patiently submitted to the levy in mass and enormous taxes, which the directory had employed to promote their personal interests or their passion for conquest, because they considered them as the only means of preventing the reestablishment of absolute monarchy, but that they were ardently desirous of peace. And he knew that, although a strong party and an ascendancy in the army had enabled him to possess himself of almost unlimited power, yet the people flattered themselves with the idea of liberty, and therefore that it was necessary to encourage that self-flattery, in order to gain the public opinion in his favour; that, having thus confirmed himself in power, he might prosecute his ambitious designs without danger of a revolt. Accordingly we find the same man who had grasped the sovereign power making moderation, a regard for liberty, and a pacific disposition the outline of his policy. He demeaned himself with liberality towards the exiled princes and nobles: he empowered general Hedoville, who commanded what was called the army of England, employed to suppress the Chouans and other royalists, to conclude an armistice with several of their chiefs, and to invite their follow-

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* Annual Register, 215.

* Wilson. p. 2.

ers to return to their obedience to the existing government by displaying the merits of the new constitution. "Frenchmen," said he, in a proclamation now issued by him, "the happy change which has taken place in the government will bring to our country peace, both internal and external. The legislative committees and the consuls of the republic belong to no faction. Their object is the happiness and glory of the French nation. They have the firmest confidence in the victories of our armies, and every heart partakes with them in this confidence. There is already a suspension of arms in some of the western departments, and orders have been given for carrying it into execution. It is not to be doubted but the chiefs of insurgents, and the inhabitants of districts occupied by the republican armies, will submit themselves without delay to the laws of the republic. A solid peace in the interior is to be established only by the united efforts of all good citizens, to conciliate and gain mutual affection."*

To bring the revolvers back to their duty, he signified that he viewed them in the light of deluded persons, and that their crimes had originated in the late unjust and oppressive government. "It is," said he, "in order to remedy these acts of injustice and these errors that a government founded on the sacred basis of liberty, equality, and a system of representation has been proclaimed to the nation, and recognised by it."

Whilst he was using these prudential methods to attach men to the new constitution and his own person, and to restore internal tranquillity, he endeavoured at the same time to conciliate their zealous support in his views of foreign policy.—To persuade the nation that he was desirous of peace with all the world, by that means, should he not succeed in prescribing terms of peace to the belligerent powers, to reconcile them to the vast expences and exertions which would be required to accomplish his ambitious enterprises, he addressed a letter to his Britannic majesty, at the close of the late year, expressing an earnest wish to concur with him in giving that blessing to mankind.—The answer given to this letter by the English secretary,† savouring of disdain, and expressing diffidence in the government which the French nation had established, and the person whom they had raised to the station of chief magistrate, enabled him to make the desired impression

† January 4.

* Annual Register 70.

1800 } pression on the public mind, and to prepare the way for a vigorous prosecution of his warlike measures.*

His first care was to subdue the royalists, who were again in considerable force in the western departments, and in that of Dinan in Bretagne were become so confident in their strength that they affixed placards in the most public places in the city inviting men to join the standard of Lewis the eighteenth, and threatening vengeance against those who refused.

These unhappy partisans of the exiled prince, however, with much indiscreet zeal, had neither union, resources, nor able chiefs: and their unsuccessful efforts only served to prejudice the government against the more moderate and prudent royalists.—The chief consul, perceiving that they were inattentive to his conciliatory overtures, adopted the most determined coercive measures for suppressing them.—General Brune, who was, sent to take the command against them, easily dispersed the detached bodies of insurgents, and brought them to submission. And the event was that a pacification was concluded, by which the royalists in the western departments were required to surrender their arms.†—Count Lewis de Trotté the only chief of repute since the death of Charette, refusing to purchase his life at the expence of his principles, was taken prisoner in his place of refuge, with six of his officers.‡ Being condemned by the court martial to be shot, they suffered the sentence with great magnanimity; falling the last victims to the unfortunate Bourbon dynasty.

These insurgents being suppressed, Buonaparte, as a means of reconciling the ecclesiastics to his government, and, by their means, reclaiming the royalists, endeavoured to conciliate the friendship of the non-juring bishops. By his desire, the constitutional bishops assembled at Paris invited them to evangelical communion and religious peace.§

During these proceedings in France the confederates had been preparing for a trial of strength with the republic, renovated by its new constitution—If the danger which threatened the European powers from the principles and enterprises of the French government had been before deemed a just ground of war, and such as constituted it defensive on their part, it was now rendered more so by the government of a person who had

† February 15.

* Annual Register 74. and State Papers 204.

‡ Ann. Regist. 165.

§ Idem. 167.

had shewn his adventurous disposition by the schemes of conquest which he had already executed and the still greater which he had projected; and who was rendered more formidable than any of those who had before possessed an ascendancy in the state by the vast power which the constitution had given him; which extended not only to the appointment to all civil offices, but to the sole disposal of the military and naval force, and transactions with foreign nations relative to peace and war.—He professed pacific councils, it was said, only to deceive his own people, and to disunite the allies; thereby to enable him to prescribe such terms of peace as might confirm him in his power, and give him that ascendancy in Europe to which his vast ambition aspired.

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For these reasons it concerned the confederates to unite more firmly, and to act more vigorously, in order to prevent this enemy to their liberties from carrying his designs into execution, and to support their own independency. Had public spirit, had their individual interests in an enlarged view, been their actuating principle, such a system of policy would, probably, have been the result; and the allies might have maintained the conquests which they had made in the late campaign.—On the contrary, while the courts of London and Vienna were incensing the first consul by rejecting his overtures on the ground of the instability of his government, we find the emperor Paul, who had entered so warmly into the war in the late campaign, weakening the common cause by his defection from the confederacy at this important crisis, and thus affording their enemy an advantage which all the exertions of the other allies could not compensate.

Buonaparte, in the mean-time, was preparing to avail himself of these auspicious circumstances and his own good policy. Having restored domestic tranquillity and provided a justification for warlike councils, and the vast levies which he was about to make, by his pacific overtures to the courts of London and Vienna, he issued a proclamation, calling on the French nation to support him with energy in such measures as were necessary to obtain that peace by force of arms which was denied him by negotiation.*

The disasters of the late campaign in Italy, and the unpropitious aspect of affairs in that country, afforded him a field whereon to regain the honour which

* Annual Register. 171.

1800 which he had lost in Egypt, as far as it could be done by feats of arms.—
 The Austrian general Melas was in possession of all Lombardy and Piedmont: and, with the aid of the English fleet under lord Keith, he held the wretched remains of Championet's army blocked up in the environs of Genoa and Savona, while the other divisions of the French forces were driven for refuge to the most defensible positions among the Alps.—To recover the conquests which Buonaparte had made in Italy, and to force the emperor again to make a separate peace, were the grand objects of this campaign.

For the accomplishment of these, Massena was sent, with a reinforcement of 15,000 men, to take the command of Championet's army, now reduced to 25,000, a great part of whom were rendered ineffective by a pestilential disorder which had raged among them, and all left destitute of proper clothing and provisions during the winter, through the villany of contractors.—General Moreau was placed at the head of above 100,000 men on the upper Rhine, destined to oppose the Austrians under general Kray on the Swiss frontier, and to make a powerful diversion in favour of the Italian army. And sixty thousand men were assembled at Dijon, under the denomination of an army of reserve. Of these the first consul was to take the command in person, together with his consular guard of 36,000 chosen troops, commanded, under himself, by Berthier and Bernadotte. *

The part allotted to Massena in the execution of this extensive plan was of the most arduous nature, from the circumstances under which he acted, as well as the bad condition of his troops and his inferiority of force.—Melas, his antagonist, was an officer of distinguished talents; and he was called on to exert them by the signal importance of his commission, on the success of which the destiny of the Austrian territories in Italy must eventually depend. That his adversary might be less prepared for resistance, he concealed, as much as possible, the great force under his command, by keeping his troops dispersed in different quarters throughout Lombardy and Piedmont. Whilst Massena flattered himself, from his appearance of inaction, that his delay in opening the campaign would afford him time to reinforce his army and procure a proper supply of provisions, he appeared unexpectedly

* Annual Register. 179.

† Idem. 171.

unexpectedly in the field, early in the year,|| at the head of 50,000 men, with which he advanced towards Genoa; leaving his cavalry and 20,000 infantry for the defence of Piedmont.^a 1800

Massena was now to protect the city of Genoa, which was blockaded by the English fleet on one side, while this powerful Austrian army was approaching to invest it on the other. For that purpose he contracted his lines: and with all the disadvantages arising from a great disparity of force, which enabled his adversary to turn his flanks, he not only maintained his ground, but, at a moment when he dreaded a revolt of the citizens, who were beginning to be clamorous for a capitulation, he revived their spirits by a victory over one division of the Austrians within sight of the walls.† —In the several encounters which took place during a contest of more than five weeks, the French troops fought with exemplary bravery, and sometimes with success. But the loss of men was more severely felt by them than their enemy on account of their original disparity of force: and the dreadful consequences arising from extreme want of provisions became daily more fatal to the garrison and citizens.

The mortification of surrendering the only strong fortress which the French possessed in Italy was aggravated by intelligence that reinforcements were on their route for his relief. But dire necessity could no longer be resisted. When their stores were exhausted and their horses and dogs were nearly consumed, when the city was fired by the bombardment from the fleet, and the air was filled with the piteous cries of the inhabitants, the French general was constrained to accept of an invitation from Melas to treat of a surrender with lord Keith and generals Otto and St. Julian; and, after some hesitation, he acceded to the honourable terms offered him; and, evacuating the city, he withdrew with his troops to Nice. ‡

Whilst Massena was struggling with all the difficulties attendant on his service, and at last submitting to the mortification of a surrender when he merited victory, Moreau was performing his part in the concerted plan, with admirable address.—General Kray, that he might be prepared to counteract any movement which his adversary might make, either for penetrating into

|| End of March.

† April 7.

‡ June 4.

^a Annual Register, 181.^a Idem. 188.

1800 into the heart of Germany by passing the Rhine below Strasburg, or for forcing a passage to the Austrian capital by the way of the Danube, had posted his army at Donaweeschingen, in that angle of Suabia formed by the bend of the Rhine; a position nearly equidistant from Schaffhausen, Basle, and Strasburg.

Moreau, observing his enemy's purpose, frustrated the effects of his judgment in the choice of his position and his circumspection by his own movements. Forming his army into four divisions, whilst generals Susanne and St. Cyr were employed to draw the Austrian general's attention towards Strasburg, he dispatched Lacourbe to effect a passage of the Rhine at Schaffhausen, and crossed that river with the grand division under his immediate command at Basle.¹—By the movements of St. Susanne and St. Cyr, which were intended only as feints, he was enabled to make a diversion in favour of his own and Lacourbe's armies; and whilst the latter was bearing down the resistance made to his passage, and preparing to turn the enemy's position, he drew towards Donaweeschingen, and obliged Kray to retreat towards Ulm. In the engagements which took place whilst Moreau and Lacourbe were harassing them in their retreat, at Stockach, Mosskirk, Biberach, and Memmingen, || the Austrians and Bavarians displayed their accustomed firmness and bravery, nor was any signal advantage gained by their enemy. But Kray was so much outnumbered that he found it necessary to fall back as far as Ulm, where was a garrison of 10,000 men commanded by Davidowich and Petrarsch, reinforced by a strong body of troops under Szaray.

Agreeably with the general plan of the campaign, when Moreau had effected his purpose of diverting the enemy's attention from the chief theatre of war in Italy, he contented himself with levying contributions on the hostile German districts, and co-operating by his detachments with Buonaparte's army, which was at this time making its passage of the Alps. He had continued five weeks in his position near Ulm when Buonaparte decided the fortune of the war in Italy by the signal victory of Maringo.[†] As the most effectual means of performing his part of the projected plan, by exciting alarm in the house of Austria and forcing the emperor to conclude

|| May 3, 6, 9, and 11.

† June 16.

¹ Annual Register, 199.

clude a separate treaty, he then recommenced his active operations. The several divisions of his army were already in possession of the upper Rhine, of Suabia, and the Swiss frontier. And he now prepared to cross the Danube below Ulm; and either to seize on the imperial magazines at Donawert and Ratisbon, or to oblige general Kray to fight him with a disparity of force in their defence.—His subsequent movements brought on a battle on the celebrated plains of Blenheim, ‡ which was fought with determined valour during four successive days, and terminated in a decisive victory on the side of the French.—Kray, who had lost above 5000 men, was constrained to retire to Ingolstadt. And Moreau, in consequence of this exploit, gained possession of Munich, and levied heavy contributions on Bavaria and the duchy of Wirtemberg: whilst Lacourbe possessed himself of the Grison country, to open a free communication with the Italian army, and the French forces employed on the Rhine ravaged the country bordering on that river and threatened to penetrate into Franconia.¹

An armistice being solicited by the court of Vienna, and a cessation of hostilities being agreed to which was prolonged till the month of november, we may turn our attention, in the mean-time, to the contemporary operations in Italy.—The army of reserve rested at Dijon till Moreau had succeeded in his first movements. As soon as Buonaparte perceived that his support would not be required in Germany, and was informed of Massena's distresses, he immediately prepared to carry him relief. For that purpose he led his forces through Switzerland to the pass in that part of the Alps called Mount St. Bernard, between that country and the north of Piedmont. Having, by dint of labour, ingenuity, and perseverance, surmounted the difficulties attending the passage of such a tract of country, covered deep with snow, with a large army and a train of heavy artillery, in the beginning of may, and taken possession of Aosta ¶ and Chatillon, on the southern side of the mountains; * having begun his career of success by

‡ June 18.

¶ May 16.

¹ Annual Register. 202.

* The manner in which the artillery was conveyed across the Alps is well deserving our notice. "Every piece of cannon was dismounted, and placed in troughs hollowed out of trees cut down for the purpose. These were drawn by five or six hundred men, according to the size and weight of the piece. The wheels fixed to poles, were borne on men's shoulders; the tumbrils
" were

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by overcoming the resistance made to his entrance into Italy by an Austrian garrison in fort de Barré, and taken Turea by escalade,† he digressed from the grand road to Turin, and, attacking a body of 6000 Austrians posted to oppose him at Romagna, on the Sessia, he drove them from their intrenchments with great slaughter.*

When Buonaparte had accomplished this most arduous part of his plan, without the obstruction which he had reason to expect from general Melas, then stationed at Turin, his detachments spread themselves over Lombardy and the adjoining countries, and gained possession of Vercelli, Suza, Milan, Pavia, and other fortresses.

The Austrian general, who had been taken by surprise by the amazing rapidity of the consul's movements in his passage of the Alps, now entered upon active operations, and dispatched generals O'Reilly and Otto with detachments to stop the progress of the French forces. But his exertions were made too late; when the moment for effecting his purpose was passed, and every advantage gained by the enemy gave them new spirits and confidence. O'Reilly was defeated by a French detachment under Murat, and Placentia was, in consequence, added to the conquests made by the French arms.

The war became more interesting as the forces on each side were concentrated, and the grand armies approached each other.—Buonaparte was posted near the junction of the Tessino with the Po, and Melas, having assembled his troops from Genoa and Piedmont, was encamped between Alessandria and the Bormida, near the village of Maringo, when de Lannes, crossing

† May 23.

* Annual Register. 192.

“ were emptied, and placed on sledges, together with the axle-trees. The ammunition, packed up in boxes, was carried on the backs of mules. To encourage the men, from four to five hundred franks were allowed for every piece of artillery thus transported. One half of a regiment was employed in drawing cannon, whilst the other half bore the necessary baggage belonging to their corps. The men proceeded in single files, it being impossible for two to draw abreast or to pass each other without danger of falling down the precipices on the side. The man who led, stopped, from time to time, when every one took the refreshment of biscuit, moistened in snow water. It was the labour of five hours to reach the monastery of St. Bernard, when each man was refreshed with a glass of wine. They had then eighteen miles of descent, by far the most difficult and hazardous, which they did not accomplish till nine the next night, being ten hours in performing it. Buonaparte, and his staff, marched on foot, and were in several places obliged to slide down seated on the snow.”—*Annual Register*. 190.

crossing the Po with his division, attacked and defeated the Austrian advanced guard at Montebello, and forced them to retire to the grand army with the loss of 4000 men and twelve pieces of artillery.—The French army, then, crossing the Po and advancing to Tortona, within twelve miles of the Austrians, a battle soon ensued on the plains of Maringo.†—The Austrians fought with that firmness which characterizes the German troops, and were victorious in the severe encounters which took place in the beginning of the day. The several divisions of the French army gave way. Buonaparte rallied and brought them again into action: but being again driven from their ground, they retired towards Tortona; and the garrison of that fortress co-operated, by a sally, in the movements to surround them.—When the battle had continued four hours, and the advantage was evidently on the side of the Austrians, their grand object was to force a defile which was guarded by a strong body of French troops. Thirty pieces of artillery were brought before it; and under cover of their fire, which made dreadful havock among the French troops, the Austrians made their attack. But here the fortune of the day was turned by the arrival of the divisions of Dessaix and Monnier to the support of the troops who were exhausted by the efforts which they had made, and dispirited by the slaughter which they had suffered.—They were also favoured in their subsequent movements by an error committed by Melas, in weakening his lines by extension, with a view of flanking the centre division of his enemy.—Buonaparte, perceiving the advantage this afforded him, instantly availed himself of it by making a furious attack on the weakened Austrian line, in which his generals acquitted themselves with signal address. Dessaix, attacking their left wing in the strong post of St. Stephano, forced them to give way. Victor, attacking the forces posted in the village of Maringo, drove them from their ground; and, pressing forward to the bridge over the Bormida, cut off their retreat. And Kellerman made prisoners of a large body of Hungarian grenadiers.—Night, at last, drew her mantle over the scene of carnage: and the French, with the field of battle covered with dead bodies, were rewarded for their exertions with a victory that proved decisive of the war in Italy.*

1800 3

General

† June 16.

Annual Register. 193.

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General Melas soliciting an armistice the ensuing day, the consul consented to it, on condition that the Austrians should retire within the lines prescribed to them by the treaty of Campo Formio, and dispatched a messenger to the court of Vienna, with an offer of a general peace upon the same terms.*

Buonaparte, being left by this armistice in possession of the chief places of strength in Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Genoese territories, hastened to Milan, to receive the surrender of the citadel.—He then proceeded to the more agreeable work of reorganizing that Cisalpine republic which had ever been his favourite object. And, as a preparative measure, he established a provisional administration, and a committee to prepare a constitution for it; giving orders, that, in the mean-time, respect should be paid to religion and property.†

After Buonaparte had made these arrangements, he returned to Paris, and was greeted by the unthinking people with shouts of applause, on his achievement.—It certainly was one of the most memorable events of this war, but not a matter of rational joy to the French nation: for at the same time that it completely determined the fate of Italy, and in a great measure that of Germany, it was also an event which, by increasing the consul's power both internal and external, enabled him to rivet the chains which the new constitution had imposed on them.

The first consul valued the Cisalpine republic, which was now to be united with the Ligurian, not only for its intrinsic worth, but as one of the bulwarks of that of France; nor did he consider himself secure from revolt in the former as long as there was any one Italian state in which he had not an absolute ascendancy.—The duchy of Tuscany still pretended to independency. But that it might not retain even an ideal enjoyment of it, the chief consul chose to consider an inroad of some Tuscan brigands upon the Cisalpine territories as an infraction of its sovereign's neutrality. A military force was now in consequence sent to take possession of Florence and Leghorn. And, as if it was to convince the Italians of their destined subjugation, and the high price at which they were to purchase the consul's friendship, the small republic of Lucca was laid under heavy contribution.‡

In the late armistice Buonaparte had prudently stipulated that neither party

Ann. Regist. 196.

† Idem. 196.

‡ Idem. 197.

party should send troops into Germany. General Kray, being by this stipulation deprived of all reinforcement from Italy, was obliged soon after to solicit the armistice which we have seen him concluding with Moreau. ||—Negotiations were then entered upon by count de St. Julian and monsieur Talleyrand, at Paris, and preliminaries were signed upon the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio, which Buonaparte insisted on as an indispensable condition. 1800

These preliminaries, it was presumed, would be approved by the emperor; the success of the French arms on the continent of Europe, and the broken state of the coalition, having rendered the Austrian cause almost desperate. But such was the humiliation which the emperor must suffer, as well as the loss of territory to which he must submit, by this treaty, that, whilst there was a ray of hope, he was determined not to be the author of his own disgrace, and his enemy's aggrandizement. Encouraged by the loan of £2,000,000 from Great Britain, he refused to ratify the treaty; declaring that his ambassador had exceeded his powers.

Each party now prepared for the renewal of hostilities: the archduke Charles, who had declined the command in chief from dissatisfaction with the present measures, was prevailed on to place himself at the head of 80,000 men for the defence of Bohemia, which was threatened by Augereau's army, now in Franconia: and the emperor took the field in person to animate his troops, and gave the command of the grand army to the archduke John.

The armistice, which had been prolonged to the beginning of november, being expired, hostilities were recommenced with great vigour.—Several battles were fought by the grand armies near the banks of the Inn, in the last of which the Austrians, reinforced by the prince of Conde's corps, were successful. But even their successes proved eventually unpropitious. Emboldened by them, the Austrian prince attacked Moreau at Hohenlinden.† Unfortunately, owing to the drifted snow which fell, the centre column came to the field of battle before it could be supported by the other divisions.—On which Moreau, seizing the favourable moment, sent one division of his army to pierce between the Austrian centre and left wing

|| July 15.

† December 3.

Ann. Regist. 196. 205.

Idem. 207.

1800 wing, and attack the former in flank and rear. The movement succeeded.

In the conflicts which ensued, the Austrians behaved with signal bravery, but were finally thrown into disorder.—The right wing made a bold effort to turn the fortune of the day, but without success. At the close of a hard-fought battle, the Austrians were driven from the field with the loss of above 5000 men and eighty pieces of artillery: and the French army in consequence of their victory, took possession of the city of Saltzburg.

This exploit which was rendered more distressful to the Austrians by the successes of Augereau in Franconia and of Macdonald in the Valteline, was decisive of the war. The court of Vienna was filled with terror at the approach of a victorious enemy. And the emperor, in despair, agreed, with the consent of Great Britain, to treat of peace separately,† and condescended to put several towns into his enemy's hands as pledges of his sincerity.*

During these military occurrences and political transactions in Europe, Egypt had presented an interesting scene of action. The events which occurred in this quarter were, indeed, most important to Great Britain, because the fate of her East India settlements was involved in them.—In this critical juncture, it was most fortunate for the British crown that the grand seignior was not wrought on by the fair professions of Buonaparte and the French government: on the contrary, that he was convinced that the establishment of the French in Egypt would eventually prove fatal to his independency, if not destructive of his empire. By these correspondent sentiments respecting the interests of the courts of London and Constantinople they were induced to confederate against France, and by the principle of common interest they were firmly combined.

If we do not accede to the opinion of those who consider Buonaparte's secret departure from Egypt as a flight, as a dishonourable dereliction of an enterprise which began to wear an unpropitious aspect, we must, however, contemplate it as one of those fortunate incidents with which his life abounds.—When the well appointed army which he had carried into this country was diminished to less than half its original force, when his troops

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† December 25.

* Annual Register. 209.

were in extreme distress for want of stores, and were dissatisfied with the expedition, when the victory of the Nile had debarred him of reinforcement or relief, and when the courts of Constantinople and Petersburg had joined the alliance against France, he could entertain but little hope of accomplishing his favourite design, till, by some change in the state of things, he should be enabled to resume it under more auspicious circumstances.—It must be acknowledged to be fortunate, therefore, if we regard only the externals of prosperous fortune, that he was called by his partisans from a scene of misery, where he had no prospect of glory, to a country where every essential of grandeur awaited him, except the diadem itself.

Equally unfortunate may be considered the fate of Kleber, whom he appointed his successor in the chief command. When his troops, with the common evils incident on war, were destined to endure the dreadful effects of the sultry, overpowering siroc wind,* and were carried hourly to the

* Denon gives a very lively and pathetic account of the siroc wind, or, as the natives term it, the kamsin, and its effects. "I had often heard speak of the kamsin, which may be termed the hurricane of Egypt and the desert; it is equally terrible by the frightful spectacle which it exhibits when present, and by the consequences which follow its ravages. We had already passed with security one half of the season in which it appears, when in the evening of the eighteenth of may, I felt myself entirely overcome by a suffocating heat; it seemed as if the fluctuation of the air was suddenly suspended. I went out to bathe, in order to overcome so painful a sensation, when I was struck at my arrival at the bank of the Nile, with a new appearance of nature around me; this was a light and colours which I had not yet seen. The sun, without being concealed, had lost its rays; it had even less lustre to the eye than the moon, and gave a pale light without shade; the water no longer reflected its rays, but appeared in agitation; every thing had changed its usual aspect; it was now the flat shore that seemed luminous, and the air dull and opaque; the yellow horizon shewed the trees on its surface of a dirty blue; flocks of birds were flying off before the cloud; the affrighted animals ran loose in the country, followed by the shouting inhabitants, who vainly attempted to collect them together again; the wind, which had raised this immense mass of vapour, and was urging it forward, had not yet reached us; we thought that by plunging our bodies in the water, which was then calm, we could prevent the baneful effects of this mass of dust, which was advancing from the south-west; but we had hardly entered the river when it began to swell all at once, as if it would overflow its channel, the waves passed over our heads, and we felt the bottom heave up under our feet; our clothes were conveyed away along with the shore itself, which seemed to be carried off by the whirlwind which had now reached us; we were compelled to leave the water, and our wet and naked bodies being beat upon by a storm of sand, were soon encrusted with a black mud, which prevented us from dressing ourselves; enlightened only by a red and gloomy sun, with our eyes smarting, our noses stuffed up, and our throats clogged

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1800 the grave by diseases brought on by the climate or unwholesome food; and when even the officers began to murmur against those who, after engaging in a visionary project, had left them to struggle with its difficulties, it was incumbent on him to soothe their passions, to relieve their distresses, to provide subsistence for them in a country where the inhabitants were universally disaffected to them, and, at the same time, to maintain a contest with the native powers.—These were tasks of the most difficult nature: and he discharged his duty in the performance of them with exemplary fidelity.

Among the variety of business attendant on his commission was a negotiation with the Porte.—From Buonaparte's debarkation in Egypt it had been one of the chief objects of his profound policy to conciliate the sultan's friendship; to remove the suspicion which, he foresaw, that monarch would entertain respecting his ultimate design in this expedition; and by that means to prevent the resistance he might make to the execution of it.—However he may have flattered himself with respect to the ease with which this part of his plan would be effected, he was undeceived when it was seen, by the sultan's conduct, that he deemed a continuance of the power of the mamlukes, tormenting as they had been to the Turkish government, preferable to the establishment of a French colony in Egypt.—In the course of his warlike operations, whilst he was endeavouring to strike terror into the Turks by the ravages of his troops, he neglected no opportunity of making conciliatory overtures to the Porte. He had attempted a negotiation with that court before his departure from Egypt; and

“ with dust, so that we could hardly breathe, we lost each other and our way home, and arrived
 “ at our lodgings at last one by one, groping our way, and guided only by the walls, which
 “ marked our track. We could now easily conceive the dreadful situation of those who are
 “ surprised with such a phenomenon of nature, when crossing the exposed and naked deserts; and
 “ we were so accustomed to the serene sky of Egypt, that we could hardly bear with any
 “ patience such a sudden transition.

“ The next day, the same mass of dust, attended with similar appearances, travelled along the
 “ desert of Lybia: it followed the chain of mountains, and when we flattered ourselves that we
 “ were entirely rid of this pestilence, the west wind brought it back, and once more over-
 “ whelmed us with this scorching torrent; the flashes of lightning appeared to pierce with
 “ difficulty through this dense vapour; all the elements seemed to be still in disorder; the rain
 “ was mixed with whirlwinds of fire, wind, and dust, and in this time of confusion the trees
 “ and all the other productions of nature seemed to be again plunged in the horrors of chaos.”—
Denon's Travels. 2. 150.

and Kleber, reflecting, no doubt, on the mouldering state of his army, did not neglect to prosecute it. 1800

The result of this negotiation was a treaty between the French government and the Porte, for the evacuation of Egypt by the French forces, which was signed at El Arish by the respective ministers on the twenty-fourth of January, and was consented to by sir Sidney Smith on the part of Great Britain.*

It was unfortunate that, in this transaction, that officer, whose merit entitles him to the highest esteem and respect from his countrymen, acted without the particular instructions of his government.—The English court, which was desirous to render every possible service to the emperor, whom it had encouraged to renew the war, and knew that the forces, if suffered to leave Egypt, would be employed against him in Italy or Germany, had dispatched positive orders to admiral lord Keith “not to consent to any capitulation for the French troops in Egypt or Syria, at least unless they lay down their arms, surrender themselves prisoners of war, and deliver up all the ships and stores in the port of Alexandria to the allies.”†—The negotiation, of course, fell to the ground; and Kleber, being debarred from leaving a country which was become hateful to his troops, prepared for active hostilities to stop the progress of the Turks.

When the grand vizier, Joseph Bashaw, had gained possession of El Arish, he proceeded with an army of 40,000 effective men towards Cairo, the recovery of which was his chief object, and encamped at Helopolis, within five miles of the city.—Kleber, then, advanced to give him battle: and, to animate his men, he endeavoured in the laconic style of a soldier, to excite resentment in them of the proposal for their laying down their arms. “Soldiers!” said he, “to such insults we shall reply by victories; prepare for battle.”‡—The advantage of European discipline and the European system of war was immediately seen. The French army, which did not amount to more than 15,000 men, steadily received an onset from the janissaries. Then, coming themselves to the attack, they soon put their enemy to flight. After some vain attempts to rally them, they retreated precipitately to Jaffa, and lost half their numbers by

|| March 20.

* Ann. Regist. 1801. 206.

† Idem. 207.

1800 by hunger, fatigue, or desertion; whilst Kleber was consoled in his distress by a victory obtained with the loss of only ten men killed and about forty wounded.*

This victory, in the present state of things, would have been of signal advantage to the French interests in Egypt, had not Kleber been prevented from availing himself of it by a revolt against their government at Cairo.† During the interval of his pursuit, Nusuff Bashaw entered the city with a strong body of janissaries and mamelukes, to avenge the natives of the injuries they had suffered from the French. Having impressed the citizens with a belief that the Turks had been victorious in the late battle, they were joyfully hailed by them. Being supported by the adherents of Osman Effendi, Ibrahim, Kiaja, and Mohamet-El-Elfi Beys, they penetrated to the quarter inhabited by the French and made great slaughter among them. So prevalent was the spirit of revolt, that, in a short time, the insurgents, reinforced by those who poured in from the adjoining country, were supposed to amount to 50,000 men. The city now presented a dreadful scene of uproar, pillage, and bloodshed. “The white flag was every where displayed; and the criers from the tops of the mosques proclaimed curses on the heads of the infidels. Amidst hideous yells of war, the acclamation of joy, called *hoolalous*, was every where heard among groups of women and children.”—Mustapha Aga, superintendent of the police under the present government was seized and put to death: all who favoured the French interests shared the same fate; and the houses and magazines were ransacked by the insurgents.—During this scene of confusion, 250 French troops had guarded their head-quarters against the furious assaults of the insurgents, till Lagrange arrived with his column to their relief, and repelled the assailants.

In this situation Kleber found the city on his return from the pursuit of the Turks, five days after the victory of Heliopolis.‡—That general, then, entered deliberately on the means of recovering a city on which the existence of the French settlement depended. He formed new intrenchments and constructed new batteries. Whilst he was expecting the reinforcements which he had ordered under generals Belliard and Regnier, he

undeceived

† March 28.

‡ March 26.

* Annual Register. 1801. 208.

undecieved the people respecting the issue of the battle of Heliopolis. Having concluded a treaty with Murad Bey, whereby the provinces of Ginsee and Assuan were allotted to him, with the title of prince-governor for the French republic,* he caused it to be published, in order to intimidate others by shewing that he was so powerfully supported. And he endeavoured by his intrigues to create divisions among the beys. 1800

As soon as the troops under Regnier and Belliard were arrived, he laid siege to the city.—In the several assaults that were given great slaughter was made on both sides. When he had made himself master of several important posts, the frantic efforts to which the mussulmen were impelled by their animosity towards the French being overpowered by the steady attacks of the assailants, Murad Bey interposed with his entreaties to Osman and Ibrahim Beys and Nusuff Bashaw, that they would capitulate: and, after some hesitation, a capitulation was agreed to, and the Turks evacuated the city. ||—At that time the French had lost above 500 men; and the mamelukes 500 killed and 1000 wounded; and the Turks 1200 killed and 1000 wounded.*

This victory, though purchased with the lives of such a number of veterans, who could not be replaced, was of signal service to the French interests, by impressing the minds of the Asiatics with a favourable opinion of their prowess. Many who were really hostile, and could not but be more incensed against their foreign oppressor when they saw the inhabitants of Cairo chastised by heavy contributions, as a punishment for what, in the eyes of a mussulman, was an avenging of their own wrongs, yet hastened to make their submission on observing that the French power was apparently established; that they derived an advantage from military skill which no disparity of numbers could counterbalance.—Of this Kleber, who was eminently qualified for the trust vested in him by his fidelity and attention to the duties of it, made every possible advantage. He applied his levies on the citizens to the payment of arrears due to his troops: knowing the difficulty of procuring reinforcements from France, he formed a corps of 1500 men from among the Greeks, who had been active in his support during the late revolt: he improved the condition of his troops: he

|| April 24.

* Annual Register. 1801. 211. 12.

* Idem. 215. 16.

1800 he provided a great number of horses and camels for the use of his army: and he established posts of communication between his several stations.^b

The merit of this officer did not, however, screen him from the shafts of malice. A faction was formed against him, at the head of which was Menou, who held a high place in the first consul's good graces. He shewed himself personally disaffected to the commander in chief, and was studiously inattentive to his orders.—In the mean-time, to undermine him in the confidence of the troops, as well as the government, reports were circulated that he had sold Egypt to the Turks by the treaty of El-Arish.

In this state were affairs in Egypt, when Kleber was assassinated with a poignard, by a mussulman, as he was talking with an architect in his garden at Cairo.†—By whom the assassin was instigated was never clearly proved. It did not, upon investigation, appear that the deed was connected with any more extensive conspiracy; nor, before his execution by impalement, did he reveal any secret motive for undertaking it.

No event could have been more inauspicious to the French interests than this.—General Menou assumed the office of commander in chief *ad interim*. But, although this was acquiesced in by the other generals, he being second in command, yet it was seen to occasion much dissatisfaction. Their feelings of discontent, moreover, were heightened by his subsequent conduct; which was calculated to impress the officers, the troops, and all who were interested in the welfare either of the natives or the French republic., that his chief object, according to the most favourable construction that could be put upon his actions, was to enrich himself at the same time that he provided, by pecuniary exactions, for the vast expenditure of the establishment; which increased from 13,000 to 18,000 francs per month in a short time after the death of Kleber.^c

A few days before Menou's assumption of the command in chief a political event occurred which deserves our attention.—It has been seen that lord Keith refused to sign the treaty of El-Arish, because it was contrary to the instructions which he had received from his government. But it is here

† June 13.

^b Annual Register. 1801. 218. 19.

^c Idem. 221.

here to be observed that the ratifications of that treaty, which were exchanged january twenty-eight, 1800, could not have been known by the government when the instructions were given, because these were dispatched in the preceding month.—Though unofficially concluded, yet the government confirmed the treaty, as soon as it was apprized of the transaction.—On the ninth of june, lieutenant Wright arrived at Cairo with a flag of truce, bearing dispatches from the vizier and sir Sydney Smith. But Menou, who knew that the settlement in Egypt was Buonaparte's favourite project, and perhaps associated personal views of ambition with the desire of gratifying the first consul, refused to renew the negotiation.⁴

ITALY.

AFTER the persecution which the unfortunate Pius the Sixth had undergone, it was expected that the arbitrator of the fate of Italy would have completely demolished the ecclesiastical state and the papal dignity. But he was induced by political motives, which may be seen in the French history of the ensuing year, to suffer its existence. With his acquiescence, cardinal de Chiaramonte was this year elected to the papal chair, and assumed the name of PIUS SEVENTH; a man whose good sense gave him a just idea of the state of the holy see and the conditions upon which he should hold it.⁵

PRUSSIA, DENMARK, SWEDEN, AND RUSSIA.

THE crowns of Denmark and Sweden, which had hitherto observed a neutrality in the present contest among the European powers, were now induced by policy to take part in it.—Great Britain, being distressed by the assistance which the neutral powers afforded her enemy, in supplying them with stores, endeavoured, upon the principle of self-defence, to prevent it.—This was, unhappily, the cause of a rupture between the British crown and

⁴ Annual Register. 1801. 221.

⁵ Annual Register. 1798.

1800 and these monarchs, who, had they acted upon the principle of public good, would have firmly combined against the already ascendant, and still increasing, power of France.—Negotiations were now carried on between the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, Petersburg, and Berlin, for a revival of that confederacy which had been formed by them in 1780 to oppose the right of search claimed by Great Britain.—France, which, in the beginning of the revolution, had encouraged the subjects of every state in Europe to rebel against their governments, now offered herself the protector of injured monarchs: all Europe resounded with “The liberty of the seas,” as it had formerly done with “Liberty and equality;” and France declared, “that the powers of the north, unjustly attacked, have a right to rely on the assistance of France; and the French government will, with them, avenge an injury common to all nations, without forgetting that it ought to contend only for peace and the happiness of the world.”

The kings of Denmark and Sweden, deceived by these seductive declarations, inviting the world to the enjoyment of peace and happiness under the auspices of France, which corresponded with the ideas they had formed of their own interests, prepared for resistance to Great Britain by force of arms.—The emperor Paul, who was incensed against that power because he was not gratified with the cession of Malta, became a zealous partisan of the confederacy and an avowed admirer of Buonaparte, against whom he had carried on war:* and as a testimony of his extreme displeasure with Great Britain he laid an embargo on all the English shipping in his ports.† —And his Prussian majesty, influenced by the interest which he conceived that

† December 30.

* An official note was now published in the Petersburg gazette as follows: “Whereas, his imperial majesty had learned that the island of Malta, lately in the possession of the French, had been surrendered to the English troops; but, as it yet was uncertain whether the agreement entered into on the thirtieth of december 1798, would be fulfilled, according to which, that island was to be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, of which his majesty the emperor of all the Russias was grand master; his imperial majesty, being determined to defend his rights, had been pleased to command, that an embargo should be laid on all English ships in the ports of his empire, till the above-mentioned convention should be fulfilled.”—Paul was now become a professed admirer of the character of Buonaparte.—A letter from general Pablin, dated november 1800, states, that when he had the honour to dine with him, his imperial majesty said that he would give, as a toast, the greatest man in Europe.—On which he immediately drank *Buonaparte! Huzza! Vive Buonaparte!*—*Annual Register*. 1801. 98.

that he had in adhering to the French interests in this contest, and the councils of his confidential minister, Lucchesini, who had lately been his ambassador at Paris, prepared to give it his support.* 1800

TURKEY.

WHILST the attention of the sultan and his divan was occupied by the warlike events in Egypt, and the negotiations with the French general, the particulars of which are given in the history of France, they are threatened with an attack in another quarter by a sudden change of councils at the court of Petersburg. But they were soon relieved from their apprehensions by the death of the emperor in the beginning of the ensuing year. 1800

EAST INDIES.

THE most memorable transaction of this year was a treaty concluded between the English company and the subah, or nizam, of the Decan,† 1800 whereby “ his highness, in commutation for the subsidy payable to the “ honourable company, has ceded to it in perpetual sovereignty, all the “ territories acquired by his highness, under the treaty of Seringapatam on “ the eighteenth of march 1792; and also all the territories acquired by his “ highness, under the treaty of Mysore on the twenty-second of june 1799, “ with the exception of certain districts situated to the northward of the “ river Tumbuddra; which are retained by his highness in exchange for the “ provinces of Adoni and Nundyal, and for all his highness’s remaining pos- “ sessions and dependencies situated to the southward of the river Tumbud- “ dra, and of the river Kristna, below its junction with the Tumbuddra, the “ provinces of Adoni and Nundyal, and all the said districts, possessions, and “ dependencies of his highness, situated to the southward of the Tumbuddra, “ and

† October 20.

* Annual Register. 1801. 76. 80. 98.

1800 " and of the Kristna below its junction with the Tumbuddra, being ceded
 " to the honourable company. The annual revenues of the countries ceded
 " by this treaty to the honourable company amount (according to the
 " valuations contained in the schedules of the late Tippoo Sultan, and of his
 " highness the subahdar of the Decan,) to sixty-two lacks, seventy-four
 " thousand and two hundred and sixty-two rupees."—Whether this accession
 of territory, and those made in consequence of the two last wars with the
 rajah of Mysore, will be essentially conducive to the welfare of the East
 India company and the British government and nation, time will prove.
 We have had a trial of extensive subordinate territories and the different
 modes of governing them: and that we may profit by experience is, no doubt,
 the ardent wish of every friend to his country.—Whatever their sentiments
 may be respecting the expediency of extending our territories, they cannot
 but applaud the solicitude shewn by the state at this period to afford
 its subjects in the east all the advantages of a well constituted govern-
 ment and an equal administration of justice. We have a proof of this
 in an act passed this year,† for establishing further regulations for the
 government of the British territories in the east, and the better adminis-
 tration of justice in the same. ^b

WEST INDIES.

1800 TOUSSAINT now availed himself of the influence which his popularity gave
 him, and his power as commander in chief, to restore good order in St.
 Domingo.—For that end he addressed a letter at this time, to the civil
 and military authorities, and French citizens of the southern department,
 inviting those who had revolted against the government to return to their
 obedience by the most liberal offer of pardon. Moreover, the better to
 enforce the acceptance of it, he communicated to them a letter which he
 had then received from the French minister of the marine and colonies,
 informing him of the revolution which had taken place in the state, and
 of

† July 28.

^a Asiatic Ann. Regist. 140.

^b Asiatic Ann. Regist. p. 5. State Papers.

of the good disposition of the first consul towards him. "Use your influence," says the minister, "and your talents, to calm all hatred. Stille all resentment; and be great by the good which you do.—The first consul places confidence in you. You will shew yourself deserving of it by restoring peace in the fine colony of St. Domingo, which interests the whole nation in so many points of view."—These instructions, we shall find by his conduct, were strictly attended to by the commander in chief.

1800

AMERICAN STATES.

THE threatened rupture with France being happily prevented, and the government of that country being placed upon a more stable foundation by the late revolution, a treaty of amity and commerce was this year concluded between France and the American States,† whereby the subjects of each were admitted to all the privileges of the most favoured nations."

1800

Information had, also, been received by the American government of the ratification of a treaty of the same nature concluded in the preceding year with his Prussian majesty.

Under these auspicious circumstances the president of the United States met the houses of congress, now first assembled at Washington.‡—In his address to the deputies on this solemn occasion, he calls on them to provide against danger from without, at the same time that they used every means to preserve good order among themselves and peace with all the world.—His reflection on the affairs of Europe, and the contrast which he draws between their situation and that of the United States, is well deserving our attention. "As one of the grand community of nations, our attention is irresistibly drawn to the important scenes which surround us. If they have exhibited an uncommon portion of calamity, it is the province of humanity to deplore, and of wisdom to avoid the causes which may have produced it. If, turning our eyes homeward, we find reason to

"rejoice

† September 30.

‡ November 22.

* State Papers. 271.

** Idem. 283. 4.

1800 "rejoice at the prospect which presents itself; if we perceive the interior of our country prosperous, free, and happy; if all enjoy in safety, under the protection of laws emanating only from the general will, the fruits of their own labour, we ought to fortify and cling to those institutions, which have been the source of such real felicity, and resist, with unabated perseverance, the progress of those dangerous innovations, which may diminish their influence.

"To your patriotism, gentlemen, has been confided the honourable duty of guarding the public interests; and while the past is to your country a sure pledge that it will be faithfully discharged, permit me to assure you that your labours to promote the general happiness will receive from me the most zealous co-operation."^b

GREAT

^b State Papers, 301.

GREAT BRITAIN, DENMARK, AND SWEDEN.

1801.

WE are now entering upon a new period of our history, commenced by the assembling of the imperial parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. And the sincere friends to their welfare may take occasion from it to invoke the genii of our islands, the Providence which has protected us in every exigency, that the era of union may be the era of tranquillity and harmony; may lead to an increase of personal industry, comfort, and happiness, and consequently of national strength and prosperity: that we may henceforth consider ourselves as one people, enjoying the same rights, partaking of the same advantages, and united by our common interests: and that national prejudice and party spirit may give place to rivalry in industrious exertion and patriotic virtues. 1801

The necessity of adopting every measure which had a tendency to strengthen the hands of government became daily more evident to those who considered the present state of the kingdom. We now behold Great Britain, by the misfortunes which had befallen the confederates in the late campaign, again deprived of her Austrian ally: and when standing alone against a power which had been pronounced the common enemy of crowned heads, instead of receiving that succour from the European monarchs which she had reason to expect, we find her embroiled with a confederacy of the northern powers, which were preparing to contest her right of searching neutral vessels, suspected of carrying warlike stores to her enemies.

1801

It is proper here to take a retrospective view of the occurrences and transactions which relate to this affair.

We have seen the powers of Europe, during the last ten years, standing in dread of the principles and power of France. Opposition to them appears to have been the ruling principle of their conduct. So thoroughly were the late empress of Russia and Gustavus king of Sweden, as well as the governing powers in the countries bordering on France, persuaded of the necessity of opposing them, that we find these potentates forgetting the enmity which they bore to each other, and preparing to unite in hostilities with France. And the emperor Paul we have seen actually becoming a member of the confederacy against that state, from a persuasion that it was necessary for the preservation of their general safety and independency.

Prevalent, however, as these feelings were, we now see them overpowered by those of jealousy and self-interest. Actuated by these, the northern powers became the dupes and tools of a dictator, whom they considered, at the same time, as their common enemy, labouring incessantly the establishment of an ascendancy subversive of their rights and liberties.

The question of *mare liberum*, or *mari clausum*, or whether any restriction shall be laid on navigation, has been for ages disputed by the maritime powers of Europe: and civilians and politicians have displayed their learning and ingenuity in the discussion of a subject in which nations have felt themselves so deeply interested.—But, without considering the merits of their reasonings, or advertling to the abstract question of right, it concerns us more in an historical view, to inquire what has been the general practice in past ages.

The practice of nations has been that of individuals. If a man is engaged in single combat, or a nation in war, and the antagonist of either endeavours to derive aid from a third party, the combatant or belligerent state will endeavour to prevent it. Upon this principle, which is in fact nothing more than the natural principle of self-defence and self-preservation, upon the practice of nations, and the sanction of treaties, Great Britain founded her right of searching neutral vessels, suspected of carrying stores to her enemies. And notwithstanding those maritime states which have been much benefited by trading with different powers at war have ever clamoured

moured against the practice of searching, yet it has been seen that a change of circumstances has induced a change of sentiments.

1801

This is very notorious in the conduct of Russia within the last twenty years,—During the American war, the late empress became a member of an armed neutrality with the professed intention of maintaining the freedom of the seas, and her pride was flattered with the idea of being the head of it; although it really was a scheme devised by the French ministry to distress Great Britain. But when that princess, twelve years after, was about to embark in war with France, regardless of her former principle, her regard for the freedom of trade, she entered into a treaty with that same power against which she had combined, wherein she engaged “to unite all her efforts to prevent other powers, not implicated in this war, from giving any protection whatsoever, directly or indirectly, in consequence of their neutrality, to the commerce or property of the French on the sea or in the ports of France:” and, in pursuance of this treaty, she sent out a fleet, with express orders to her admiral to search all Danish merchantships *sailing under convoy*. Conformably with the same principle, the emperor Paul, when a member of the coalition, threatened vengeance against the Danes, should they afford assistance or protection to France under the neutral colours of the Danish flag.*

In like manner almost every power in Europe had either directly or virtually renounced the principles of the league of 1780 by subsequent edicts or treaties. A convention was signed between the courts of Sweden and Denmark in 1794, for the mutual preservation of their neutral commerce during the war which then raged in Europe. In this, which was communicated to the court of London, “they declared their adherence to their respective treaties with all the different powers at war, without exception. And, by the third article, they bound themselves to each other and to all Europe, that in all matters, not expressed in their existing treaties, they would not pretend to any other advantages than those which were founded on the universal law of nations, such as it was recognized and respected up to that moment by all the powers and sovereigns of Europe.”^b

It is evident that the conduct of these powers accommodated itself to their

* Annual Register. 91.

^b Idem. 92.

1801 their circumstances; and that they all acknowledged the right of search except at such periods when they derived an advantage from denying it. But Great Britain, being oftener engaged in naval war than any other state, and, from her superior strength, more benefited than others in maintaining the right, was destined to be opposed on this ground, by the neutral powers, in every war. We have seen the effects of these motives of jealousy and self-interest in them during the contest between Great Britain and her colonies: and these were on the present occasion far more fatal. They then affected the interests of this country only. Whereas now, by affording our enemy an opportunity of intriguing against us at the northern courts and stirring them up to war with us, they enabled that power to establish her ascendancy in Europe, to the manifest subversion of its independency.

The first power with which Great Britain was embroiled, in the course of the present war, was Denmark.—The occasion of the dispute, which took place at the close of the year 1799, was thus related by Mr. Merry, the British minister at Copenhagen, in a letter to the Danish minister, count Bernstorff.† “ An English frigate met the Danish frigate in open sea, having under her a convoy of vessels.† The English commander, “ thinking it proper to exercise the right of visiting this convoy, sent on “ board the Danish frigate, demanding from the captain his destination. “ The latter having answered, that then he was going to Gibraltar, it was “ replied, that since he was going to stop in that bay, no visit should be “ paid to his convoy, but that if he did not mean to cast anchor there, “ the visit should be paid. Captain Van Dockum then informed the officer “ who went on board him, that he would make resistance to such a step. “ Upon this answer, the English commander made the signal for examining “ the convoy. A boat from the emerald frigate was proceeding to execute “ this order: a fire of musquetry from the Danish frigate fell upon them, “ and one of the English sailors was severely wounded. This frigate also “ took possession of a boat of the English frigate the *flora*, and did not “ release it till after the English commander had given captain Van “ Dockum to understand, that if he did not immediately give it up, he “ would commence hostilities. The Danish frigate then went with her “ convoy

† April 10. 1800.

“convoy into the bay of Gibraltar. There some discussion took place on 1801
 “this affair, between lord Keith, admiral and commander in chief of his
 “majesty’s naval forces in the Mediterranean, and captain Van Dockum,
 “whom lord Keith could not but consider personally responsible, and
 “guilty of the injury done to one of his majesty’s subjects, not thinking
 “it possible that this captain could have been authorized by instructions
 “from his court. To clear up this point, admiral Keith sent an officer
 “to captain Dockum to intreat him to show, and to explain the nature of
 “his instructions; but he said to the officer, that they were in substance,
 “that he should not permit his convoy to be visited, and that, in firing
 “upon the boats, he had only discharged his orders. The same captain
 “afterwards made a similar reply, upon his word of honour, in speaking
 “with lord Keith, and in the presence of the governor of Gibraltar; but
 “he promised at the same time to appear before the judge, and to give
 “security for his appearance; and upon this promise he was told that he
 “might return on board. Having entered his boat he sent a letter to the
 “admiral, in which he refused to give the necessary security. The discus-
 “sions were terminated by a declaration which lord Keith made to captain
 “Van Dockum, that if he failed to surrender himself, thus wishing to
 “frustrate justice, the affair should be represented to his court.”^d

To this the Danish minister replied, “that both custom and treaties
 “have no doubt, conferred on the belligerent powers the right of searching
 “neutral vessels, not under convoy of ships of war. But, as this right is
 “not a natural one but merely conventional, its effects cannot be arbi-
 “trarily extended beyond what is agreed to and conceded, without
 “violence and injustice. But none of the maritime and independent
 “powers of Europe, as far as the undersigned has observed, have ever
 “acknowledged the right of permitting neutral ships to be searched, when
 “escorted by one or several ships of war.”

In answer to which lord Whitworth, who was employed to treat with the
 Danish court on this business, ‡ exposed the absurdity of the consul’s posi-
 tion, by saying “that, if the principle be once admitted, that a Danish
 “frigate may legally guarantee from all search six merchant ships, it
 “follows

‡ August 21. 1800.

^d. State Papers, 1800. Ann. Regist. 238.

1801 " follows naturally that that same power, or any other power, may, by
 " means of the smallest ship of war, extend the same protection to all
 " the commerce of the enemy."

Count Bernstorff endeavoured to invalidate this argument by alleging that the disgrace which any state would bring on itself by lending its flag to such a fraud, and the evils which would ensue from it, were sufficient to prevent such practice; and that the Danish government had used means to prevent it, by making the officers who commanded convoys responsible that the cargoes of the ships under their convoy do not contain articles prohibited by the laws of nations or by the treaties subsisting between Denmark and the belligerent powers.[†]

The ill-will which this affair gave rise to was aggravated by another of a similar nature, which took place during the negotiation. || Captain Crab, who commanded the *freya* Danish frigate, having merchant ships under his convoy, refusing to suffer them to be searched when called on by the commander of a small squadron at the mouth of the channel, the English officer gave her a broad-side. After a short conflict, the *freya* struck, and was brought into the Downs.[‡]

This event could not but inflame the Danes.—But the English ambassador being attended by a squadron of nine sail of the line, the Danish government, which was not then prepared for hostilities, consented to a convention, † by which it was agreed, " that the question with regard to the right
 " of searching neutral ships sailing under convoy should be referred to a future discussion.—That the Danish frigate and the vessels under her convoy
 " should be instantly released, and the frigate should find in the ports of
 " his Britannic majesty every thing necessary for her repair.—And that, to
 " prevent similar rencounters from occasioning disputes of a similar nature,
 " his Danish majesty should suspend his convoys till the ulterior explanation upon this point should give rise to a definitive treaty."[‡]

The purpose of this transaction was defeated by some incidents which ensued, and a disposition in the northern courts very unpropitious to peace.—A violation of the supposed rights of neutral flags having been committed by the commander of a small English squadron near Barcelona, ‡ this

|| July 25.

† August 29.

‡ In September.

[†] State Papers, 1800. Ann. Regist. 240. 4.

[‡] Ann. Regist. 94.

[‡] State Papers. 245.

this action drew the resentment of the courts of Madrid and Stockholm on the British government.¹ 1801

Within a month after this incident, an English frigate took a Prussian vessel laden with naval stores, bound for the Texel, and carried her into Cuxhaven, a port belonging to Hamburg. ||—On an explanation of the affair between the British ambassador at Berlin and the Prussian minister, the vessel was restored. But, notwithstanding his Prussian majesty made professions of amity towards Great Britain, he discovered a suspicion of intentions in that power inimical to his interests by insisting on having a body of troops posted at the port of Cuxhaven, through which the English had a communication with the north of Germany.²

These events all tended to the same point, of disposing the maritime powers to unite in opposing a state whose naval greatness they envied, and whose exercise of this asserted right they deemed prejudicial to their interests.

But it was the emperor Paul who was the most active and most powerful member of the confederacy which was about to be formed against Great Britain.—He was disappointed of the honour with which he hoped to have seen the Russian arms crowned by the repulse of the allied army in Holland and the unsuccessful issue of the campaign of 1799 in Switzerland. And when Malta was reduced by the British forces in the late autumn, he was incensed at not being gratified with the surrender of that island to him, as grand master of the knights of St. John, the former owners of it.

When this event was formally notified to him, the violence of his temper would no longer suffer him to repress his resentment; and he instantly expressed it in the following order of state.† “His majesty the emperor
“of all the Russias having received a circumstantial account of the sur-
“render of Malta, by which it is fully confirmed that the English generals,
“notwithstanding the repeated representations of his imperial majesty’s
“minister, and the minister of the king of the two Sicilies, have taken
“possession of la Valetta and the island of Malta, in the name of the
“king

|| In October.

† November 18.

¹ State Papers. 246.

² Idem. 257.

1801 " king of Great Britain, and hoisted the English flag alone, his majesty
 " sees with just displeasure such a breach of good faith, and has resolved
 " that the embargo laid on all the English vessels in the Russian harbours
 " shall not be taken off, till the conditions of the convention concluded in
 " 1798 shall be punctually fulfilled."

This was followed by a transaction far more interesting and more formidable to the English government than the ebullitions of this frantic monarch's anger, or his violent acts of state.—Plausible pretexts being afforded to the parties which had meditated the revival of the armed neutrality, a confederacy of that denomination, but really hostile to the interests of Great Britain, was concluded, by Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, before the close of this year, ‡ and was afterwards acceded to by his Prussian majesty, under the specious declaration that the sole object of it was the security of the trade of their subjects.¹

The enemies and the rivals of Great Britain entertained sanguine hopes of seeing her humbled, when they saw her engaged alone in war with a power which had made all Europe tremble by the progress of its arms, and menaced at the same time by this powerful confederacy. But the event, far from gratifying their wishes, served only to give a further display of her naval strength, and the genius of the British nations for naval war.—On intelligence of the embargo laid on English vessels in the northern ports, an order of council was immediately issued, laying an embargo on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in the harbours of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. ||² And, whilst war was carried on with energy and success in Egypt, as will be seen in the history of France, vigorous preparations were made for maintaining the rights of the English flag against the expected efforts of the armed neutrality to deprive it of them.

Such was the state of public affairs when his majesty first addressed the parliament of his united kingdom.† After acquainting the two houses with the proceedings of the northern courts, and the measures which he had adopted in consequence of them, he concluded by saying, " that he was
 " persuaded

‡ December 16.

|| January 14.

† January 22.

¹ State Papers. 239.

² Idem. 234.

"persuaded that they would omit nothing on their parts that could afford
 "him the most effectual support in his firm determination to maintain,
 "against every attack, the naval rights and the interests of his empire."^a 1801

The address on his majesty's speech gave occasion to animated debates on the merits of the measures which were the principal subject of it.—The duke of Montrose, who proposed it in the house of peers, after felicitating the nation on the union, proceeded to speak of the northern confederacy. "There is no cause," said he, "for the gloom and despondency with which many worthy individuals are now afflicted. Our courage and abilities are universally acknowledged. Activity and perseverance will crown our laudable efforts with the desired success. We are strong in energies, and strong in the justice of our cause."—This animated harangue was followed by a speech from earl Fitzwilliam, in which he descanted on the existing circumstances of the kingdom, and proposed an amendment importing that an inquiry should be made into the state of the nation and the conduct of administration, which was rejected by a majority of 73 to 17.^o

The debates on this subject had, in the mean-time, been conducted with much warmth and eloquence in the lower house.—The address was opposed by Mr. Grey and Dr. Lawrence, chiefly on the ground of the impolicy and rashness of involving ourselves in hostilities with such a confederacy, at such a crisis as the present, upon disputable points: and the latter called on the ministry seriously to reflect on the danger which threatened us, should these confederates be driven to unite with the military despot who now wielded the power of France.—To whom Mr. Pitt argumentatively replied, by first displaying the vast importance of our claim of searching neutral vessels, and then proving our right to it. "There were two ways," he said, "in which the present subject was to be considered. The first was, what had been the general law of nations thereon, independent of any particular treaties: the second, how far it was affected by any precise treaties with the particular powers who were the objects of the present dispute. With respect to the law of nations, the principle on which we were now acting had been universally admitted and acted upon, except in cases where it had been restrained and modified by particular
 "treaties

^a State Papers. 208.

^o Annual Register. 43.

1801 "treaties between different states. And here," he observed, "the honour-
 "able gentleman (Mr. Grey) had fallen into the same error which consti-
 "tuted the great fallacy in the reasoning of the advocates for the northern
 "powers, namely, that every exception from the general law by a parti-
 "cular treaty proves the law to be as it is stated in that particular treaty;
 "whereas the very circumstance of making an exception by treaty proves
 "what the general law of nations would be, if no particular treaty were
 "made to modify or alter it.—With regard to particular treaties with
 "particular powers, he shewed that, with every one of the three northern
 "powers with whom we were at present disputing, independently of the
 "law of nations, of our uniform practice, and of the opinions of our
 "courts, we had the strict letter of engagements whereby they were
 "bound to us; and that their present conduct to us was as much a vio-
 "lation of positive treaties with us, as it was of the law of nations."—
 Having said thus much on the question of *right*, he then proceeded to the
 question of expediency. "This," said he, "was, whether we were to
 "permit the navy of our enemy to be supplied and recruited? whether we
 "were to suffer blockaded forts to be furnished with stores and provisions?
 "whether we were to suffer neutral nations, by hoisting a flag on a sloop
 "or a fishing boat, to convey the treasures of South America to Spain, or
 "the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest or Toulon?—Were these," conti-
 nued he, "the propositions that the gentlemen were contending for? They
 "talked of the destruction of the naval power of France: but could it
 "really be believed that her marine would have been decreased to the
 "degree that it now was reduced, if, during the whole of the war, the
 "principle now contended for had not been acted on? If her commerce
 "had not been destroyed, if the fraudulent system of neutrals had not
 "been prevented, would not her navy have been in a very different
 "situation from that in which it now was?"

These reasonings and the learned disquisition of the disputed points by
 the solicitor general concurring with the general sentiments of the house,
 a majority of 245 to 63 appeared for the address.*

The present was one of those perilous moments which have at different
 periods displayed the stability of the English constitution, the strength and
 resources

* Annual Register. 42. 51. 56.

resources of the government, the energy, loyalty, and patriotism of the nation: for the evils and embarrassments of the most expensive war that ever was maintained by any state were aggravated by the pressure of an extreme dearth, an evil of the most afflicting and irritating nature to the great body of the people; and the feelings of the well-affected were embittered by a severe illness with which the king was at this time seized.† —Happily, however, his majesty's health was soon restored.‡

1801

This was followed by an event which had a very material influence on his majesty's councils; that was the resignation of several of the chief cabinet ministers.¶ Mr. Pitt was succeeded, as chancellor of the exchequer and premier, by Mr. Addington, who had recommended himself to the public confidence and his sovereign's personal esteem by his conduct in the station of speaker of the house of commons, to which he had been re-elected by the imperial parliament.—Earl Spencer was succeeded by earl St. Vincent as first lord of the admiralty. Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas, as secretaries, by lord Hawkesbury and lord Hobart. And Mr. Wyndham by the hon. Charles Yorke as secretary at war.—Lord Eldon was at the same time appointed high chancellor, and the earl of Hardwicke lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Various conjectures were formed respecting these resignations. The difficulty of accomplishing the much-desired object of peace by a ministry so offensive to the French government, and who were supposed to be averse to peace, except upon such terms as that state would not accede to, it was thought, had some influence in producing it. But the ostensible cause was a difference of opinion respecting the emancipation of the Irish catholics; which these had been given to understand, during the transactions relating to the union, would be granted them in consequence of that event. This was indirectly notified by the late premier's declaration in parliament. "I and some of my colleagues," said he, "did feel it an incumbent duty on us to propose a measure, on the part of government, which, under the circumstances of the union so happily effected between the two countries, we thought of great public importance, and necessary to complete the benefits likely to result from that measure. We felt

" this

† In February.

¶ March 17.

* Annual Register. 117.

1801 " this opinion so strongly, that, when we met with circumstances which
 " rendered it impossible for us to propose it as a measure of government,
 " we felt it equally inconsistent with our duty and honour any longer to
 " remain a part of that government. I beg to have it understood to be a
 " measure which, had I remained in administration, I must have proposed.
 " What my conduct will be in a different situation must be regulated by a
 " mature and impartial review of the circumstances of the case."

The opponents of the catholic emancipation appear to have considered it chiefly as a matter of policy, and to have regarded only the danger of admitting the catholics to offices of trust and stations which would give them weight in the legislature, who, although they had not a tenth part of the property of Ireland, were as six to one to the protestants in number.^{*}—But his majesty was influenced by considerations of a more serious nature, and such as evinced his integrity and his attachment to the constitution. Reflecting on his coronation oath, that he would maintain the protestant religion as established by law, he firmly refused his consent to a measure which he deemed inconsistent with it.[†]

Happily for the kingdom, the burthen of state was alleviated during the remaining period of hostilities by the concurrence of the retiring ministers in support of the present measures of government.—Lord Grenville, after making a declaration correspondent to that of Mr. Pitt respecting the cause of their resignation, proceeded to say, "that it was a consolation to him to know that the same vigorous line of conduct would still be pursued. Though they had retired from office," said he, "no change of measures would take place: but the system which had been already so salutary would still be acted upon by their successors; to whom, while they continued to act in a firm, resolute, and manly manner, they were determined to give their steady support."[‡]—In this declaration he was followed by lord Spencer.

Whatever were the sentiments of these powerful ministers respecting the terms of peace, they were engaged to support the present minister with all their weight in a vigorous prosecution of the war. And their conduct was agreeable to their professions, as was particularly seen in the grand business of finance; in the unanimity with which the votes were passed for

^{*} Annual Register, 1792. 29.

[†] Idem. 118.

[‡] Idem. 119.

[§] Idem. 122.

for raising supplies for the payment of 135,000 seamen, 193,187 regular forces, 78,046 militia, 31,415 fencibles; the expence of which amounted to the sum of £.12,940,889.²—This, with the interest of the national debt and the other disbursements of government, amounted to the sum of £.46,886,303. 1801

Whilst the minister was preparing for foreign war, he was under the painful necessity of providing against internal tumults, on account of the unquiet state of Ireland, and the meetings which were still held by disaffected people in England.—Bills were brought forward and passed for the continuance of martial law in Ireland; and also for the revival of the acts for the suspension of the habeas corpus and the prevention of seditious meetings in England.†—Whilst every friend to the established government will lament the necessity of such measures, they will receive some consolation in observing the caution with which they were adopted.—Neither of these bills were passed till the occasion of them had been fully discussed, and a select committee of each house had been appointed to investigate the grounds upon which they were proposed. And even when it was proved by the reports of these committees that adequate occasions existed, the acts were passed only for a limited time; the former for three months, and the latter during the war and one month after the signing of a treaty of peace.‡

The most vigorous efforts were, in the mean-time, made to bring the war to an honourable conclusion by the success of our arms.—During the splendid achievements of the British arms in Egypt, an account of which is given in the French history, the Baltic was become an interesting scene of action. In pursuance of the objects of the armed neutrality, the Russian emperor and the king of Sweden had been active in preparing for war. Prince Charles of Hesse had taken the field with 15,000 Danes, and had possessed himself of Hamburgh, without the consent of the senate of that free city. And the Prussian monarch, regardless of the friendship which his ancestors had experienced from the crown of England, had sent a body of troops to the Hanoverian frontier, to act in concert with the Danes in embarrassing

† In March.

² Annual Register, 142.

³ Idem. 154. 75.

1801 } embarrassing the English trade, and intimidating his Britannic majesty into an acquiescence with the views of the confederates.*

The court of London well knew that, should an ambassador be sent unattended by an armed force, the confederate powers must eventually be gratified. Therefore, at the same time that Mr. Vansittart was dispatched, with a flag of truce, to join Mr. Drummond, the British minister at Copenhagen, in negotiations with the Danish court and its allies, admiral Hyde Parker, with vice-admiral Nelson and rear-admiral Graves, were sent with a fleet of eighteen sail of the line, four frigates and thirty gun-boats, to enforce them.

The Danish navy, at this time, consisted of twenty-three ships of the line, the Swedish of eighteen, and the Russian of forty-seven; and the forts of Helsingburg and Cronenburg, which guard the Sound, were well garrisoned, and batteries had been erected on every point where the guns could reach the English ships.—Such was the naval force with which Great Britain had to contend in the Baltic, when Mr. Vansittart, on the twentieth of march, arrived at Elsineur, and presented the *ultimatum* of his court to the Danish government, requiring, “that Denmark should “secede from the northern alliance; that a free passage should be “granted to the English fleet through the Sound; and that the Danish “ships should no longer sail with convoy.”—These requisitions not being complied with, the British ministers took their departure from Copenhagen.*

The English admiral arriving in the Sound seven days after the plenipotentiary, demanded of the governor of Cronenburg the determination of the Danish court respecting the matter in dispute, and whether he had orders to fire on the English fleet.—The governor's answer implied, that he was unacquainted with political transactions; but that he was not at liberty to suffer a fleet whose destination was not known to approach the fort which he commanded.—After dispatching a second letter, importing that he considered the governor's answer as a declaration of war, the English admiral entered the Sound; and being fired on by the governor, he returned his salute by a slight bombardment. Then, passing on,

* Ann. Regist. 107. 8.

* Idem. 108.

on, he came to anchor near Hwen island, between the Sound and Copenhagen. † 1801

On reconnoitring the enemy's force, it was seen that nearly the whole of the Danish navy was assembled at Copenhagen: that the men of war lying in the harbour and road were flanked by the batteries on the two crown islands at its entrance, the largest of which mounted above fifty pieces of artillery; by the artillery of the fortress of Frederiestadt, which, with the guns of four men of war moored at the harbour's mouth, guarded the entrance of it; together with eleven floating batteries, carrying heavy artillery. Moreover, the city was defended by a garrison of 10,000 men.

To attack a fortress thus prepared for defence was an act of the most daring boldness: the influence which success would have on the issue of the enterprise alone could justify it. But it was such in which Nelson loved to display his valour, when his country's service demanded it.—Being gratified with the honour of conducting the attack, he advanced, with twelve sail of the line and a number of small vessels, to Draco Point, where he was to make his final disposition; whilst the remainder of the fleet were to co-operate by bombarding the batteries at the entrance of the harbour.

The awful moment of preparation being passed, Nelson came to the attack, ‡ captain Murray, in the *edgar*, leading the van. A furious battle ensued, in the course of which the English admiral and his brave crews exhibited prodigies of valour. The Danes, on the other hand, shewed themselves worthy rivals, as well as antagonists, of the British seamen; and the prince of Denmark animated his forces to exertion by the composure and spirit which he displayed in this hour of danger.—When the battle had raged with prodigious slaughter above four hours, and seventeen Danish ships of the line were taken, sunk, or burned, their batteries were almost silenced, and the city was apparently in the hands of the British admiral.^a—This was one of the favourable moments which displayed the character of Nelson in the most advantageous light: it evinced that, with the most undaunted courage, he possessed that discretion and presence of mind which distinguish

† March 30.

‡ April 2.

^a Annual Register. 112.

1801 distinguish the accomplished commander from the knight errant. He reflected that three of his ships, the *bellona*, the *russel*, and the *agamemnon*, were aground: that his other ships were in a very shattered condition, and that the city was defended by a strong garrison. He, therefore, availed himself of the dismay impressed on his enemy by the havoc made among them, instantly to address a letter to the prince royal, before he should be apprized of the state of the British ships, "representing the expediency of his allowing a flag of truce to pass, and that, if this were refused, he should be under the necessity of destroying the floating batteries, which were now in his power, with the brave men who defended them."

This letter, addressed "To the brothers of Englishmen, the Danes," had the desired effect.—Nelson going on shore in consequence of the honour shewn it, was greeted with hearty acclamations by the people, and was received with the utmost courtesy and respect by the prince.

An armistice was then agreed to, that the prince and admiral might settle the terms of peace.—Some difficulties obstructed the adjustment, originating, it was supposed, in the demand that Denmark should abandon the alliance of Russia.—The negotiation was still on foot, when intelligence arrived of an event which made a sudden and total change in the state of things in the north, and had a material influence on the councils of all the powers of Europe—that was the death of the emperor Paul; who was found dead in his bed on the twenty-second of march.*

His son and successor, the emperor Alexander, who was free from the passions which had actuated his father, perceived the folly of that system of policy into which he had been hurried, when he had blindly suffered himself to become the dupe of France. Immediately declaring for that system of foreign policy which the empress Catharine had adopted in her latter years, he cancelled all his father's hostile acts towards Great Britain, and dispatched a minister to the court of London, to testify his friendship for his Britannic majesty.—Both parties being disposed to amity, a convention was soon concluded,† by which, in order to prevent disputes in future, the right of search of merchant ships going under convoy was limited to the sole causes in which the belligerent power may experience a real prejudice

by

† June 17.

* Annual Register. 114.

by the abuse of the neutral flag.—It was also agreed, that the treaty of commerce, as settled in 1797, should be renewed; and that such arrangements should be made, respecting various matters between the two countries, as may ensure their good understanding.*

Agreeably with an article in this convention, the kings of Sweden and Denmark were invited to become parties in it.^d—The exploit of the British arms in the Baltic being rendered more effectual by the reduction of the Danish and Swedish islands in the West Indies, these powers could have little inclination to continue a war which had commenced so inauspiciously; and especially as the negotiations with them were forwarded by the presence of an English fleet of twenty-five sail of the line in the Baltic.—The Danish government acceded to the convention in the month of october: and, in return for the prince of Denmark's liberal behaviour on this occasion, all expences attending the embargo laid on the Danish ships were

* The most interesting articles of this treaty were the following. " His imperial majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic majesty having resolved to place under a sufficient safeguard the freedom of commerce and navigation of their subjects, in case one of them shall be at war, whilst the other shall be neuter, have agreed:

" That the ships of the neutral power shall navigate freely to the ports and upon the coasts of the nations at war.

" That the effects embarked on board neutral ships shall be free, with the exception of contraband of war, and of enemy's property; and it is agreed, not to comprise in the number of the latter, the merchandise of the produce, growth, or manufacture, of the countries at war, which should have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, and should be transported for their account, which merchandise cannot be expected in any case from the freedom granted to the flag of the said power.

" That in order to determine what characterizes a blockaded port, that denomination is given only to that where there is, by the disposition of the power which attacks it with ships stationary, or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering.

" That the ships of the neutral power shall not be stopped but upon just causes and evident facts: that they be tried without delay, and that the proceeding be always uniform, prompt, and legal.

" In order the better to ensure the respect due to these stipulations, dictated by the sincere desire of conciliating all interests, and to give a new proof of their loyalty and love of justice, the high contracting parties enter here into the most formal engagement, to renew the severest prohibitions to their captains, whether of ships of war or merchantmen, to take, keep, or conceal, on board their ships, any of the objects which, in the terms of the present convention, may be reputed contraband, and respectively to take care of the execution of the orders which they shall have published in their admiralities, and wherever it shall be necessary."—*State Papers*. 212.

^d *State Papers*. 212. 15. 18.

1801 } were voluntarily borne by the English government.—The Danish troops, at the same time, evacuating Hamburgh, the navigation of the Elbe was restored: moreover, his Prussian majesty gave assurances, that, after certain arrangements should be made for the quiet of Germany, his troops should be withdrawn from Bremen and Hanover.*

The king of Sweden acted with less spirit and ingenuousness on this occasion than the Danish prince.—Contrary winds were pleaded as the reason why his fleet, then at Carlsroon, did not support his ally in the late engagement.—The fact, however, was, that they did not join the Danes; and that these bore the brunt of a battle in which almost their whole navy was sacrificed. And the Swedish monarch, although he had acted thus coldly in the war, discovered a disinclination to amity with Great Britain by deferring his accession to the convention of Petersburg till the thirtieth of march in the ensuing year,^f after the treaty was concluded between his Britannic majesty and the French government.

The happy termination of this war, which had threatened extreme embarrassment to the British crown, and the successful issue of the campaign in Egypt, which deprived our enemy of his footing in that country, greatly forwarded the conclusion of a general peace.—For the negotiations which led to this event, as well as the occurrences of the campaign between France and the powers allied against her, the reader is referred to the French history, where the whole are brought together, in order to give him a clearer idea of them.

HOLLAND.

1801 } A new constitution for the Batavian people was at this time published, formed upon free principles, and calculated to afford them domestic comfort and prosperity.*—Whether the circumstances of the nation with respect to foreign relations is compatible with that liberty which it professes to give them, or not, the event will prove.—At present, the state is so entirely dependent on France, that its history is little deserving of notice.

FRANCE

* Annual Register. 114. 16.

^f State Papers. 218. 20.

^g Idem. 320.

FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN.

THE change of councils which had taken place at the court of Petersburg threatened, at this crisis, to occasion a total change in the state of things in Egypt; and, indeed, it must have had that effect had it not been prevented by an enterprise successfully executed on the part of Great Britain:—The emperor Paul had withdrawn from the confederacy, much discontented with the behaviour of his allies, especially the court of London.—It had ever been a grand object of the Russian monarchs, from the time that Russia had become a maritime power, to gain a port in the Mediterranean: and Paul, whom we have seen honoured with the appointment of grand master of the knights of Malta, flattered himself with the idea of making the possession of this island the price of his services in the present war. Proportional to his sanguine hopes of obtaining this much-desired object was his chagrin and resentment on finding obstructions in the way to his attainment of it.—Of this Buonaparte, supposing that a weak, unprincipled monarch would be more influenced by his personal feelings than by a consideration of the true interests of his empire or the general welfare of Europe, which his mind was too contracted to comprehend, made every possible advantage; and, by addressing himself artfully to his foibles, he had prepared to make him his partisan and the dupe of his policy, when his death occasioned a further change in the councils of his court.†

1801

In the mean-time, it was evident that the first consul's intrigues at Petersburg, and his assurances that Malta should be the emperor's whenever it could be recovered from the English, had an influence on his enraged, distracted mind, which threatened to be very detrimental to the allied cause.^b The court of Constantinople, apprized of these intrigues and dreading an attack from Russia, should it persist any longer in hostilities with France, began to waver in its councils; the grand vizier himself, the warm friend of Great Britain, began to be doubtful of the expediency of

† March 22.

^a Annual Register. 1801. 77.^b Idem. 80.

1801 of adhering to her interests, and the captain pacha was known to be adverse to them.—If we may judge from the present critical state of the Turkish court, and the general aspect of affairs in Europe at the opening of the present year, nothing could have prevented the accomplishment of Buonaparte's scheme of forming a settlement in Egypt, which must have eventually tended to the annoyance and probably the ruin of the British East India settlements, but the events which were about to take place.

After the unsuccessful issue of the expedition against the Spanish coasts in the late year, it was for some time doubtful what would be the destination of the fleet and land forces employed on it.—On the twenty-fifth day of October the troops were, however, relieved from their painful suspense by the arrival of orders to Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Lord Keith, to proceed on an expedition to the coast of Egypt.—Conformably with their instructions, having rendezvoused at Malta, they sailed for the beautiful and spacious bay of Marmorice, † between Rhodes and the coast of Asia; where they prepared for the further prosecution of their enterprise. From that place General Moore was sent to inform himself of the state of the grand vizier's army at Jaffa, and returned with the melancholy and inauspicious intelligence, "that it was weak as to numbers, without discipline, and infected with the plague."—Such allies promised little advantage from their co-operation.—Moreover, from the vague accounts which they received respecting the enemy's force, they had reason to think that it was greatly superior to their own; which amounted at this time to 15,330 men, of whom 999 were invalids.

These, although matters of serious contemplation, did not prevent, they did not even delay the prosecution of the enterprise.—When it was seen that the captain pacha, who was to have supported them in it, did not arrive at the appointed time, orders were given for re-embarkation. These being instantly obeyed, an hundred and seventy-five sail of all descriptions were seen under way for the Egyptian coast; a sight striking in itself, and most interesting to those who reflected that the success of the troops on board was to decide a contest which would have the most important influence on the welfare of their own country and of all Europe.

They

† January 1.

* Sir Robert Wilson's History of the Expedition. p. 6.

They came to anchor near the western point of Aboukir bay; and, having obtained all possible information respecting the situation of the French forces and the nature of the coast, they prepared for their descent. —These are scenes which those only can describe who have been present at them, and felt the impressions made by them. “ Here,” says the historian of the expedition, “ let the reader pause for a moment, to dwell on “ this solemn scene, and imagine to himself the feelings, the impatience, “ the suspense which agitated every mind; the hopes and fears which “ distracted the spectators; the anxiety of the gallant sir Ralph Abercrombie for the success of this hardy enterprise, and the fate of the “ intrepid men who so cheerfully engaged to execute his orders. The “ heart of the brave man will beat high with enthusiasm; and may those “ who have hitherto regarded with indifference the service of the army, “ from this moment pay it that tribute of respect which is the recompence “ of the soldier. May those young men who are devoted to the military “ life seriously consider its important duties, and seek to render themselves “ capable of commanding, ever remembering that in the course of their “ service the fame and lives of such soldiers must be hazarded to their “ judgment.”

On the eighth day of march, the first division of the army, consisting of about 5500 men, under the command of general Coote, assisted by generals Moore and Ludlow, being assembled in boats, proceeded to make their landing in the following manner.—The boats were protected by a line of vessels on each flank, together with two launches on each side, which carried the field artillery and a detachment of seamen commanded by sir Sidney Smith, who were ordered to co-operate with the land forces. The tartarus and fury bomb-vessels were stationed to cover the landing with their fire, and the peterel, camelion, and minorca, were moored with their broad-sides to the shore.—At the signal given, at nine o'clock, the whole flotilla was instantly in motion.—Two thousand of the enemy, posted on the sand-hills which formed the coast, had observed their preparatory movements, yet could not believe that they meant to attempt so arduous an enterprise as that of making a descent in the face of an enemy, thus circumstanced. But when they saw them rapidly approaching the coast, they poured all the fire they could on them, from the battery of twelve pieces which they had

1801

1801 had erected on an adjoining height. "The quantity of shot and shells, "and, as the boats approached, the shower of grape and musquetry, seemed "so to plough the surface of the water, that nothing on it could live; "for a moment it even checked and compelled some of the boats rather "to close upon the left; but the impulse returned with increased ardour, "and pressing through the storm the rowers forced to the beach. The "reserve leaped out of the boats on the shore, and formed as they "advanced; the 22d and 40th rushed up the heights with almost preternatural energy, never firing a shot, but charging with the bayonet the "two battalions which crowned it, breaking them and pursuing till they "carried the two mole-hills in the rear, which commanded the plain to "the left, taking at the same time three pieces of cannon. The 42d "regiment had landed and formed as on a parade; then mounted the "position, notwithstanding the fire from the two pieces of cannon and a "battalion of infantry. The moment they gained the height, two hundred "French dragoons attempted to charge them, but were as quickly "repulsed."—Little resistance was afterwards made: and the boats, returning, brought the remainder of the troops safe ashore before night.

The commander in chief, having achieved this essential part of his enterprise, with the loss of about 500 men, took a position, about twelve miles from Alexandria, near the eastern extremity of a ridge of sand hills, extending beyond that city, having lake Maadie, or Aboukir, on their south side and the Mediterranean on the north.—Leaving two regiments to blockade Aboukir castle, he advanced along the sand-hills, which were from one to three miles wide, towards the enemy's position on very advantageous ground, about four miles east of Alexandria. After several skirmishes on their route, the British army came to the attack:† and a well-fought action ensued, in the result of which they forced their enemy to retire to a new position on the heights near Alexandria. There a second engagement immediately ensued, more severe than the former: the French artillery, having the advantage of ground, made dreadful havoc among the British troops, whilst they were attempting to attack their position. For several hours they firmly stood a most destructive fire of cannon and musquetry.

† March 13.

‡ Wilson's History, p. 14.

musquetry. When, at last, it was found impossible to gain the enemy's position, the British forces retreated in good order, but with the loss of 1100 men,* whilst that of their adversary was computed at 500.—This ill success was in some degree compensated by the reduction of Aboukir castle, after a siege of five days. ||

In the interval of action the troops were employed in constructing batteries on the position which the commander in chief made choice of, about four miles east of Alexandria, and bringing up their guns, and forming a depot of ammunition.

The British army was posted on this ground in three divisions, the left extending to the western point of lake Aboukir and the right to the Mediterranean, where it was flanked by the armed vessels under captain Maitland; when intelligence was given sir Sydney Smith, by a letter from an Arab chief, that Menou was arrived with a strong reinforcement from Cairo, and meant to attack the British camp by surprise the next morning.—Due attention was paid to this valuable information. The troops passed nearly the whole night under arms. Before the dawn, the enemy's approach was announced; and, in a short time, a furious attack was made on the right wing, which had the Mediterranean on its right flank.†—The several regiments which formed that wing rivalled each other in bravery; and seemed determined to convince their enemy that, although they had fought with some of the best troops in Europe in their Italian campaigns, they had still to make a greater trial of their prowess with British troops commanded by British officers. The 58th, the 23d, the 28th, the 42d, which were in the front of that wing, successively exhibited the extraordinary spectacle of an engagement in front, flanks, and rear: the last of these, when warmly engaged with the French infantry, received a charge *en masse* from their cavalry, and must have been overpowered, had not general Stuart come to their support with the foreign brigade, and, at last, forced them to retire.

Another column of the enemy had, in the mean-time, been engaged with our centre division, and had been repulsed.—The British left wing

was

|| March 18.

† March 21.

* Wilson's History. p. 22.

1801 was never seriously engaged; being only exposed to partial musquetry and a distant cannonade.

The French general, when he had been engaged six hours, when he had exhausted his ammunition, and found that he had made no effectual impression by his reiterated attacks, retired in good order to his position. And, fortunately for him, the British forces had spent their ammunition before he abandoned the field.

Thus were the British troops rewarded for their exertions with a victory which would have done honour to the most illustrious of their ancestors. But even the glory of this memorable day was too dearly gained with the life of their commander in chief. During the engagement with the enemy's cavalry, he mounted his horse and repaired to the scene of action. "Having dispatched his aids de camp with orders to different brigades, whilst thus alone, some dragoons of the French cavalry penetrated to the spot, and he was thrown from his horse. One of them, from the tassel of his sword supposed to be an officer, then rode at him, and attempted to cut him down: but just as the point of the sword was falling, his natural heroism and the energy of the moment so invigorated the veteran general, that he seized the sword and wrested it from his hand: at that instant the officer was bayoneted by a soldier of the 42d."

Sir Ralph had, in the mean-time, received a musket ball in his thigh. Yet he continued in the field; and paid so little attention to his wound that the officers who went to him for instructions returned without knowing that he had been wounded. At last, the fatal truth was betrayed by the blood trickling down his clothes. When the battle was over, and exertion was no longer necessary, he grew faint from loss of blood, and his spirit yielded to nature. "Being then placed on a hammock, he was borne to the depot, cheered by the feeling expressions and blessings of the soldiers as he passed," and was afterwards conveyed to lord Keith's ship. —Attempts were made to extract the ball, without success: a mortification taking place, he expired seven days after the battle.—Thus did the brave Abercrombie devote the last moments of his life to the service of his king and country; and the honour and reverence paid to his memory will be his just reward. He was endeared to the soldiery by that tender regard for
their

* Wilson. 34.

their welfare which he united with a strict attention to discipline: and his manly virtues, his high sense of honour, his excellent judgment in whatever related to his profession, and his exemplary discharge of its duties, gave him the highest rank in the public esteem. But his friend and successor, who knew him intimately, is best qualified to give his eulogium. "Were it permitted," said general Hutchinson, "for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person: but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity."^s

1801

The death of this meritorious general was not the only circumstance with which the victory was alloyed.—The loss in the British army was six officers and 238 men killed, and sixty officers and 1190 wounded. The English tents, we are informed, were torn in pieces by the shot, and thousands of brass cannon balls were glistening in the sand.—On the other hand, the loss of the enemy, at the fairest estimation, amounted to about 4000 men, killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, among whom were most of their principal officers killed or wounded.*¹

This victory was of signal service to the British cause; it may, indeed, be said to have turned the scale in its favour. Yet general Hutchinson, on whom the chief command devolved, had much to do, before the French could

* The following account is given us by sir Robert Wilson respecting the capture of what, from the high reputation of the legion to which it belonged, was called *the invincible standard*. "In this battle the French standard was taken. The 42d regiment, and a private of the minorca, by name Anthony Lutz, claim equally the trophy. Major Stirling first obtained possession of it when the 42d so gallantly advanced to relieve the 28th and 58th: this officer gave it to the care of serjeant Sinclair, who in the subsequent charge of the French cavalry lost it. When the minorca advanced to relieve the 42d, and routed the enemy, the French had recovered the colours; but Lutz perceiving the standard, advanced from the ranks, and fired at the officer who was carrying it, and who was some way behind his men. The officer fell, and Lutz, seizing the standard, reloaded his piece, and was proceeding to join his regiment, when two dragoons rode at him. He fired and killed the horse of one, then rushed upon the rider, whose foot was entangled in the stirrup; but the man begging his life and surrendering his arms, Lutz granted him quarter, and carried the prisoner with the colours to his officer, lieutenant Markoff, who ordered him to head-quarters, where he received the regulated reward."

^s Wilson: 49.¹ Idem. 36. 48.

1801 could be dispossessed of Egypt: for the battle of Alexandria, it ought to be observed, had made but little alteration in the balance of force: the enemy continued to be greatly our superior in numbers, and were in possession of the chief places of strength. Therefore when the proposals for a surrender, addressed by the commanders by sea and land to the commandant of Alexandria, were disdainfully rejected,[†] the British general entered methodically upon measures to wrest the country out of the hands of the French.—And in this he was much favoured by the impression which the late achievement had made on the mussulman powers. The terror of the French arms, which Buonaparte had endeavoured to associate with a lively idea of the blessings that would be derived from his friendship, was done away, when they were seen not to be invincible. When that general told the cheiks and other inhabitants of the provinces of Ghazah, Ramleh, and Jaffa, with that modesty which is ever attendant on greatness of mind, “it is proper that you should know that all human efforts against me are vain, since all my enterprises must succeed. Those who declare themselves my enemies perish:” when he kindly admonished them to profit by the examples of Jaffa and of Ghazah, telling them “that the events at Jaffa and at Ghazah must certainly convince them that, if he was terrible towards his enemies, he was kind towards his friends, and also compassionate and merciful towards the poor people,”^{*} they could not but feel the impressive influence of such a declaration.* But when the affairs of Acre and Alexandria had proved that the deliverer of Egypt had been too sanguine in his idea of his prowess; and the cruelties exercised towards the natives, and the oppressive contributions levied on them, had shewn that the most friendly demeanour was not a recommendation to that kindness which he promised them, on the contrary that even the sacred rights of hospitality were violated to gratify the rapacity

† April 23.

* The following are Buonaparte's words: “il est bon que vous sachiez que tous les efforts humains sont inutiles contre moi; car tout ce que j'entreprends doit réussir. Ceux qui se déclarent mes ennemis périssent. L'exemple qui vient d'arriver à Jaffa et à Ghazah doit vous faire connoître que, si je suis terrible pour mes ennemis, je suis bon pour mes amis, et sur tout clement et miséricordieux pour le pauvre peuple.”—*Lettre de Buonaparte apud Pièces Diverses*. 101.

[†] Wilson. 45.

^{*} *Pièces Diverses*. 1. 101.

rapacity of the conquerors, the natives could not but be disposed to unite with their enemies in dispossessing them of their conquests.* Accordingly we now find the timidity or irresolution which the Turks discovered at the opening of this campaign giving place to more resolute councils, and the bays becoming decidedly favourable to the British interests. Some days after the victory of Alexandria, the captain pacha, who had a strong body of forces under his command, came, accompanied by Lord Keith, to visit the English general in his camp.†—The grand vizier, who had remained motionless at Jaffa from the time of his disgraceful retreat from Cairo, advanced to Balbeis, to co-operate with the British forces in their movements.‡—And Osman Bey Tatabourgi, in conformity with the injunctions of Murad Bey whom he at this time succeeded in his principality, assured the commander in chief of his support."

When the general was concerting the means of accomplishing the grand purpose of the expedition, contemplating the difficulties with which it must be attended and anxious for the event, he was cheered with intelligence that the body of forces which he had detached for that purpose, with the assistance of the captain pacha and the flotilla which Sir Sidney Smith commanded in the Nile, had reduced Rozetta, a place of the utmost importance on account of its situation near the principal mouth of that river." This was followed, ten days after, by the reduction of Fort Julien, which guards the entrance to the harbour.—The possession of these places opened a free intercourse between the fleet and army, as the good disposition of the natives, when relieved from the awe in which they stood of the

§ April 30.

† May 7.

* Sir Robert Wilson gives the following notorious instance of breach of hospitality. "Some French officers of rank assembled at the house of Madame Murad Bey, the widow of the great Ali Bey, who entertained them with all the hospitality she could possibly manifest, and as they retired, presented the young Beauharnois with a ring of considerable value. A few days afterwards a contribution was laid on her property, of far greater extent than her proportion had been fixed at, and much beyond her means to pay. On complaint being made, she received for answer, that as it was understood she still possessed very costly ornaments, no mitigation could be pleaded." "This exaction then appeared to be founded on the present she had so generously, but as it proved imprudently, given to the relative of Buonaparte, with the motive of shewing honour to that general. As such it was considered as the grossest breach of faith and hospitality, nor could Murad Bey ever speak of the transaction without the bitterest expressions of indignation."—Wilson. 68.

§ Wilson. 51.

† Idem. 67. 72.

‡ Idem. 56. 59.

2 K 2

1801 the French, afforded the troops ample supplies of provisions from the natives.*

The reduction of Alexandria was one of the chief objects of the campaign. But as the siege of so strong a city was, at present, incompatible with his general views, and especially as lord Keith had assured him, "that after october he could no longer remain on the coast with the shipping, on account of the weather and the state of the vessels, he determined to leave this as his ultimate object, and in the mean-time, to proceed to the reduction of other places in the interior parts."—Previous to his departure from his present position, a measure was adopted which was conducive to his final success.—Alexandria is flanked on the south side by lake Mareotis; a great part of which near the city is a strand, and generally passable on foot. This is parted from lake Aboukir, which has a communication with the sea, only by a narrow neck or isthmus, along which passes the canal from Alexandria to Ramanieh. The bed of lake Aboukir being several feet higher than that of Mareotis, by making a cut between them the water from the former would be let into the latter; lake Mareotis would be brought to the walls of the city; and the duties of the besiegers would be diminished by contracting the parts on which the garrison might be relieved.—The practicability of this was suggested by a letter from Menou, found in general Roiz's pocket, who was killed in the late battle, expressing a fear that the measure would be adopted.—The general was prevailed on with reluctance to forward his enterprise by doing what must be very detrimental to the inhabitants of the city and its neighbourhood. It was, however, begun and executed in a short time; and the water rushing into lake Mareotis, with a fall of six feet, soon inundated a large tract of cultivated land.

The commander in chief then proceeded with uninterrupted success in the execution of his plan. In his subsequent operations, although his enemies were not inactive, yet the resistance made by them was not to be compared with the difficulties and hardships which the troops had to encounter from the excessive heat of the climate, the sultry siroc winds, and the torment of the ophthalmia occasioned by the reflection from the burning

* Wilson. 44.

burning soil and the light sand blown into their eyes.* They had signalized themselves by their valour, and they were now to shew their patience of fatigue and misery, to submit to sufferings without a possibility of relief or the cheering prospect of glory. But even in these struggles the British soldiers were not without some consolation from the admiration and gratitude expressed by the natives when they observed the strict order maintained among them, and their readiness to make a compensation for every kindness that was shewn them. "The British soldiers only required water; frequently even rewarding the trembling natives who brought it, and whose only hope had been to escape ill usage."

1801

The general having completed his preparations, lord Keith's fleet being strengthened with four ships from Warren's squadron, and the detachment which had reduced Rozetta having, with the assistance of sir Sidney Smith's flotilla, reduced the fortress of El Aft, on the same branch of the Nile, the army advanced to the siege of Ramanieh, the situation of which, at the junction of the two arms of the Delta rendered it a most desirable object, because it commanded the whole navigation of the Nile, and because the possession of it would enable him to cut off the communication by water between Cairo and Alexandria.¹—This place was suffered to fall into the hands of the English general, after a conflict with the forces posted for its defence which was not proportioned to its importance. ||—It was indeed, supposed that the successes of the British arms was much favoured by the variance which had prevailed among the French generals since the appointment

|| May 10.

* Captain Walsh gives us the following account of this most painful disease.—"The ophthalmia, or inflammation of the eyes," says he, "may be looked upon as truly endemic in Egypt. In all the towns and villages, and indeed all over the country, the natives are distressingly subject to this disease, so that eyes perfectly sound and uninjured are very seldom to be seen. Even the women, who keep their faces so carefully and jealously concealed, have their eyes uncovered, certain of not being admired or coveted for the brilliancy of them."

"Our army, both near Alexandria, and on the banks of the Nile, was affected to a very great degree with an ophthalmia attended with exquisite pain. Various reasons are assigned for this great prevalence of inflammation in the eyes, and often consequent blindness, but what seem the most probable causes are, the excessive heat and strong light reflected from the sands, the air every where impregnated with saline particles, the night air, and, lastly, the fine sand and burning dust, which are blown about by the winds, and fill the eye."—*Walsh's History of the Expedition to Egypt.*

1 Wilson. 99.

1 Idem. 81. 91.

1801 ment of Menou to the chief command. Such, however, was the effect of this acquisition, that Menou and Belliard, the one at Alexandria and the other at Cairo, were entirely cut off from all communication with each other, and the navigation of the Nile,† and, by it, a free communication with the interior country, was secured to the English army.

Grand Cairo was now the general's next object.—Reflecting that many obstacles might impede his progress in the accomplishment of its reduction, and that the time was limited during which he could be assisted by the co-operation of the fleet, he proceeded with all possible dispatch, in defiance of the difficulties arising from natural obstructions.

On their route over the intervening sandy, trackless deserts, the general and his troops were cheered with the intelligence that the grand vizier, assisted with a detachment under major Holloway, had gained a complete victory at El-hanca,‡ over a body of forces sent by Belliard to oppose his march from Balbeis, and had pursued the enemy to the plains of Heliopolis.* —This event, and the capture of two valuable convoys on their progress, which afforded the army a seasonable supply of provisions and camels,† and the intelligence that soon arrived of the surrender of fort Lesbé and the port of Damietta to our arms, animated the troops with sanguine hopes of the final success of the expedition.†

On the twenty-third day of May general Hutchinson had his first interview with the grand vizier, at Menouf, about thirty miles north of Cairo. With that venerable commander and the captain pacha he concerted his plan for the reduction of the city: and being, moreover, assured of the co-operation of the mamelukes by the arrival of several of the chief beys in his camp, among whom were Ibrahim, the rival of Murad, Osman Tambourgi, Mohamed Elfi, Hassan, and Osman Bardici, he lost not a moment in carrying it into execution.**—Having crossed the Nile on a bridge

† May 15.

‡ May 15.

* Wilson. 111.

† Idem. 103. 4.

‡ Idem. 117.

* Idem. 116. 22. 24.

* The description of the vizier's camp and army, given by sir Robert Wilson, is well deserving our attention; and points out the circumstances in which the mamelukes differ from them. "The grand vizier's army presented a very different appearance to the Turks under the captain pacha. Here was no regularity, no trace of discipline; each corps encamped confusedly around its chieftain; horses and camels crowded all the intervals; tumbrils and cannon lay mixed amongst

bridge constructed of small vessels, the general was preparing for an attack on the enemy's forces posted at Ghazah, when a flag of truce arrived from general Belliard.¶—A conference in consequence took place between generals Moran and Hope, and a capitulation was settled by them, by which it was agreed, "that the French forces should be conveyed to the French ports in the Mediterranean, with their arms and effects, within fifty days from the date of the ratification; men of letters and naturalists were permitted to retain their papers and collections; an exoneration was granted to such of the people as had adhered to the cause of France; and it was stipulated that Menou might avail himself of these conditions for the surrender of Alexandria, provided his acceptance of them was notified to the general commanding before Alexandria within ten days from the date of the communication being made to him."*—The subsequent ratification of this treaty † gave the British general full possession of all that the French had held in the interior parts of Egypt, and opened to him a fair prospect of finally dispossessing them of their settlement in this country.

In the accomplishment of this purpose he was now to be assisted by a reinforcement of above 5000 troops brought by general Baird.—That officer had sailed from India, by the way of the Red-sea, in the month of december. On intelligence of the state of things in Egypt he had made the greatest exertions to reach Cairo in time to co-operate in the siege; but did not arrive till a few days after the capitulation was signed.*

During

"amongst them, and the whole formed a most disgusting chaos, whilst the dirt and filth of the camp certainly were amply sufficient to generate the plague, and every pestilential disease.

"In the evening, when the gale of wind blew up the fine particles of soil, the atmosphere was intolerable, and words fail to give a just description of the wretchedness.

"The troops were composed of all nations, and such a rabble was never beheld. There is good ground for asserting that near ten thousand Arabs, after the battle of Elhanca, joined the grand vizier, in hopes of the pillage of Cairo. The number of horses was prodigious, as each Turkish soldier provided himself with one en route, and the wretched country was desolated with barbarous violence to afford them forage. The mamlukes, however, to the number of five hundred and sixty, were encamped in a very superior manner; their lines were kept clear, and regularity was visible throughout; their dress was very rich, their manners accomplished, and the general appearance corresponded with expectation."—*Wilson's History of the Expedition*. 116.

¶ June 22.

† June 26.

* *Wilson*. 128. 31.

* *Annual Register*. 236.

* *Wilson*, 167. 71.

1801

During these successes in the interior, general Coote, whose judgment and experience well qualified him for the important trust, was invested with the command of the forces left to maintain the ground which the British army had occupied before Alexandria. His army, although reinforced with 1800 men from England, was too weak to enter upon active operations till the several divisions of the grand army were arrived from Cairo.^b

When general Menou was informed of the surrender of that city, and particularly of the article in the treaty which concerned himself, he expressed much indignation. He blamed general Belliard, because he thought there were still several events which might have changed the state of their affairs; especially that of being relieved by admiral Gentheume, who was waiting an opportunity to throw succours into Alexandria. And he declared that he would bury himself in the ruins of the city, rather than surrender it to the enemy.^c All the forces being assembled before it, the English gun-boats having passed through the cut from lake Aboukir to Mareotis to assist in the siege, and lord Keith being prepared to co-operate in the Mediterranean, their operations were commenced with great vigour.[†] They had been carried on ten days, and considerable advances were made by the besiegers, when Menou, finding all his efforts fruitless, sent an aid de camp to desire an armistice for three days, which was granted him. He would willingly have renewed it. But general Hutchinson declared that he would recommence hostilities if an answer to the proposals were not instantly given. A capitulation was then concluded of the same purport with that signed by Belliard, "such," says sir Robert Wilson, "as embraced every desirable object, without unnecessarily degrading the conquered."[‡]—We may form some idea of the strength of this city and the merit of the besiegers from these circumstances—that it had in its fortification 312 pieces of artillery, and that the garrison which surrendered amounted to 10,528 men.^e—Such was the happy termination of an expedition which, if viewed not only in its immediate effects but its remote consequences, must be considered as the most important of any that

† August 16.

‡ August 26.

^b Wilson. 62, 182.^c Idem. 186.^d Idem. 206.^e Idem. 216.

that was ever undertaken by Great Britain. For by it our enemy's pride was humbled, his scheme for the conquest of our East India settlements was frustrated, and our trade to that country was secured.

1801

When Buonaparte was under the mortification arising from this disappointment, when all his hopes of forming a settlement in Egypt were blasted, and he saw with chagrin that there was still a power existing which not only dared to oppose him, but which had done it with success, he was consoled by the issue of his negotiations with the other powers which had been hostile to him.—Early in this year, a definitive treaty was signed at Luneville,† between his imperial majesty and the French government, upon the basis of that of Campo Formio: and measures were, at the same time, entered upon, with the emperor's consent and intervention, for effecting a treaty for the settlement of all matters in dispute between France and the Germanic body.

Having accomplished his views on the continent of Europe, the first consul breathed vengeance against England; and an invasion of that kingdom was now apparently his object.—Before the end of June he had assembled his forces in Flanders and Picardy, and formed them into three grand divisions; one encamped between Bruges and Ostend; another between Gravelines and Dunkirk; and another near Boulogne.—If preparations and menaces could have intimidated Great Britain, nothing could have been better calculated for that purpose than the present measures adopted by France. While nearly the whole force of the republic destined for active service, except the army of Egypt, was thus drawn to the coast opposite to England, every port in France was a scene of the most industrious exertion; where the workmen appeared to be straining every nerve to forward the construction of gun-boats and other apparatus for an invasion. A combined fleet of above fifty sail of the line assembled at Brest, to cover the descent. Two smaller fleets, one of eight and the other of five ships, commanded by Gentheume and la Touche, were destined, it was supposed, to some secret expedition. Moreover, in order to facilitate every measure that he might think proper to adopt, might bring every part of that military and naval system under his immediate orders by which he was preparing to subjugate France and annoy other states, the whole extent of

† February 9.

1801 of the coast of France was divided into the six prefectures of Toulon, l'Orient, Rochefort, Havre de Grace, Brest, and Antwerp; and telegraphs were erected for the conveyance of intelligence to every part of them.^f

Nothing would have prevented the execution of the enemy's design but the excellent state of preparation in which the British kingdoms were held. The zeal and spirit of the nation in raising volunteer corps were unexampled: and, to give it the greatest effect, instructions were dispatched to the lord lieutenants of the several counties, for the regulation of the respective corps within their departments. Arrangements were also made respecting the routes which they were to take, if called into the field; and orders were distributed respecting the driving away of cattle, and other means to prevent distress to ourselves and to embarrass the enemy on his landing.

It could not but afford the highest satisfaction to the sovereign, and to all who felt themselves warmly interested in the national welfare, to observe such a general spirit of loyalty and patriotism displayed throughout the kingdom, to see many of those who had been malecontents uniting with their countrymen in opposition to a foreign enemy, and the fell demon of rebellion hiding its head.—But it was to the naval force of the kingdom that men looked as their chief bulwark against the attempts of our proud foe. Formidable as his preparations appeared, the nation contemplated them without dismay when they reflected on the vast force of our navy and the superior character of our seamen; that the enemy's ports in the low countries were blocked up by the fleets of Dickson and Graves, that of Toulon by Warren, that of Brest by Cornwallis, that of Cadiz by Saumarez; that lord Nelson, on his return from the Baltic, was invested with the supreme command of the maritime force from the land's end to Yarmouth; and that a correspondence was formed between the different fleets by the squadrons and ships of war which were stationed at proper distances along the French and Dutch coasts, to watch the enemy's movements, and capture the vessels which ventured to put to sea.

A reflection on past events, moreover, came to their aid.—When their imagination presented to them the standard of Elizabeth upheld with such exemplary zeal by the nobles and men of all ranks, on the threatened invasion

^f Annual Register, 243.

invasion from Spain, and the gallant queen addressing her troops in the front of her camp at Tilbury, and animating them to feats of bravery by telling them that she was ready to share with them in their dangers, "that, with the body of a feeble woman, she had the heart of a king, and a king of England too," they could not but feel an emulation of their patriotic virtues: when they reflected on the Spanish armada vanquished and dispersed, and on the achievements of the British fleets in every period of our history, and saw our most glorious victories crowned by those of the Nile and Copenhagen, they reposed with well-grounded confidence on the national spirit and the prowess of the British seamen, assisted by that Protection which had ever been our safeguard.

1801

During the enemy's preparations several actions were performed by the English cruisers, in capturing their merchantmen and destroying their shipping in different bays and harbours.—One of the most remarkable of these was the capture of *la chevette*, a French corvette of twenty guns by the boats of the *doris*, the *beaulieu*, and *urania*, after a severe action, † within reach of the batteries in Cameret bay, and within sight of the combined fleets.*

These were followed by more important enterprises.—Boulogne being the place of rendezvous of the naval force destined for the invasion of England, it was thought justifiable in point of policy to risk an attack on this port; that, by destroying their shipping the enemy might be disabled from carrying the meditated descent into execution, or their spirits might be daunted by such a manly defiance. The plan being digested, Nelson was chosen to conduct the enterprise: and, with that view, he sailed from Deal with a flotilla of gun-boats and other small vessels, protected by three ships of the line and two frigates. After reconnoitring the strength and circumstances of the enemy, he began his bombardment; directing his fire against their shipping. ‖ The result of this, when it had continued two days, was, "that six of the French vessels were so much damaged that they were towed from the scene of action. Five of them were secured in the mole; four were sunk; and one bulged."—It was the admiral's intention to have come to a closer engagement with them; but a change of wind prevented him from executing his purpose.^b

Disappointed

† July 21.

‖ August 3.

* Ann. Regist. 263.

b Idem. 268.

1801

Disappointed of his chief object, the admiral, after retiring a few days to refit, determined to make a second attempt, and, if possible, to bring away the French flotilla, consisting of twenty-four armed vessels, moored head and stern before the entrance of the harbour, and protected by the batteries which the enemy had erected since the former bombardment.—The attack was made by seventy vessels of all sizes, thrown into four divisions, and was executed with the intrepidity of British seamen. But the event proved the unwarrantable boldness of the enterprise.† On advancing to the attack, it was discovered that the French ships were fastened together with chains in such a manner that it was impossible for the assailants to separate them. After a fierce engagement, in which the roar of the artillery was so tremendous that it was heard on both sides of the channel, the English admiral found himself foiled by the enemy's precautions and their vigorous defence, favoured by the darkness of the night; and he was constrained to retire with the loss of 172 men killed and wounded.¹

In the mean-time, some naval events deserving our notice had taken place in other quarters.—The French admiral Gentheume, after relieving Alexandria in the month of June, had fallen in with the swiftsure, of 74 guns, and made prize of her, after an action supported with great courage with three French ships.—About the same time, admiral Saumarez made a bold but unsuccessful attack on a French squadron, under de Lenois, lying in the road of Algeziras;‡ in which the hannibal of 74 guns ran aground and fell into the enemy's hands.

The enemy did not long enjoy their triumph on this success.—As soon as Saumarez could get ready again for sea, he immediately prepared to repair his loss. Descrying a squadron of eight French and Spanish ships of the line, under admiral de Moreno, off Cabereta point, he gave them chase, and a running fight ensued. || Two of the Spanish ships of 112 guns were fired, and went to the bottom: the saint antonio struck to captain Keate in the superb. There was a severe conflict between captain Hood in the venerable and the French ship formidable, in which the advantage was evidently in favour of the former: but Hood's mainmast being shot away at the close of the action, he was disappointed of his prize.² We

† August 15.

‡ July 5.

|| July 13.

¹ Ann. Regist. 270.² Idem. 253.

We may observe the greatness of the belligerent powers manifested in the extent of the war carried on by them. By its intrigues with Tippoo Sultan, France had kindled a war on the peninsula of India, which had proved fatal to that prince and the kingdom of Mysore: by working on the enmity entertained to some of the northern powers towards Great Britain and the jealousy of others, it had extended the war to the Baltic, the result of which has been seen in the English history; and by its ascendancy at the court of Madrid it now carried it to the southern extremity of Europe.—It has been seen that an attempt was made, in 1797, to draw the Portuguese over to the French interests; which was frustrated by the timely interposition of the British government at the court of Lisbon. The first consul, knowing how deeply he should wound the English commerce, one of the grand sources from which his enemy derived the means of carrying on the war, renewed his efforts to effect this purpose by his absolute power over the court of Madrid: and whoever has a concern for the dignity of crowned heads must observe with indignation the catholic king kissing the rod which had chastised him, paying sycophantic court to a state which he feebly endeavoured to subvert. “ Since I *happily* concluded “ a peace with the French republic,” says don Carlos in his proclamation,† “ my principal care was to procure the *same advantage* to other “ powers, particularly those which were connected with me by the ties of “ blood.”—Some futile pretext for war was found in the succours afforded to the English: but don Carlos at the same time indirectly avowed the real object of his intended aggression. “ My intention was to separate it “ (Portugal) from England, to which, by its maritime situation, it afforded “ great advantages; and by these means to force the latter, if possible, to “ a peace, so much wished for by all Europe, and which that power “ alone opposes.”¹

The consequence of this proclamation was an invasion of the province of Alentejo by a strong army, commanded by the prince of peace, a warm partisan of France, ‡ while a body of French auxiliaries was to co-operate with them by an attack on the Portuguese frontier from the north.—The events of the campaign are too trivial to merit a recital. The Spaniards easily

† February 27.

‡ May 20.

¹ State Papers. 346.

1801 easily made themselves masters of the frontier fortresses. And the result was, that the court of Lisbon, not being prepared for war, consented to a treaty of peace, signed at Badajoz, || by which it agreed to shut its ports against the ships of Great Britain, and ceded the fortress and territory of Olivenza to the crown of Spain.^m

Buonaparte thus made the catholic king his instrument in detaching Portugal from the English alliance: but he had not yet effected his whole purpose in the war against that country.—By a convention between France and Spain, it was stipulated, “that neither of these powers should conclude a peace with Portugal, unless, among other conditions, certain places in Portugal should be consigned to the French, to be occupied by their troops till the establishment of a general peace in Europe.”—These stipulations not having been attended to in the treaty of Badajoz, the first consul dispatched le Clerc with an army of 30,000 men to invade Portugal on the side of Salamanca: and that general began his operations in the month of June by investing the fortress of Almeida.

Portugal had evinced a sincere desire to observe a neutrality in the present war, which had swallowed up the treasures of Europe: but this advantage was denied her; and she was destined, at last, to have a portion of its evils. While her frontier was invaded by a French army, as a chastisement for her attachment to Great Britain, her firmest ally, the English government, being desirous to have some possession of which it might avail itself in the conclusion of a peace, dispatched a squadron, with a body of troops on board, “to take the island of Madeira into its protection and possession.” And the governor, either being convinced of the friendly intentions of Great Britain, or not being prepared for resistance, put colonel Clinton, who conducted the expedition, in possession of the two forts which commanded the bay of Funchal, the capital.[†]

Whilst hostilities were still carried on, rumours of peace began to prevail, which appear to have originated in the known disposition of the belligerent parties; not in any pacific advances made by either of them. The first consul had, at this time, very powerful reasons for being desirous of peace. By the issue of the campaign in Egypt he was completely foiled in

|| June 6.

+ July 25.

^m State Papers. 349.

ⁿ Annual Register. 260.

in his intended settlement in that country, and in all the schemes of conquest in the east to which his success was to have led.* The result of the battle of Copenhagen, and the change of councils which had taken place at the court of Petersburg in consequence of the death of the emperor Paul, had blasted all the hopes which he had founded on the northern confederacy. The French nation, though it dared not to resist the conscriptions and taxes levied for carrying on the war, which became yearly more burthensome as their external sources failed, yet ardently wished for peace; especially those persons who were in possession of forfeited estates, in which they could not think themselves secure as long as the war continued, the issue of which might dispossess them. Buonaparte, therefore, who had made his way to the supreme power by his warlike achievements, and the ascendancy which these had given him in the army and the state, and who had no prospect of glory or advantage in the continuance of war, was desirous now to establish his power by concluding such an honourable peace as might confirm him in the good opinion of the people.

On the other hand, were it possible that the first consul, situated as he was at this time, could have suffered personal objections to have obstructed the negotiations for peace, these were removed by the appointment of an English ministry towards whom he could have no animosity; which had borne no other part in the war than that of carrying it on with the same energy with which it had been prosecuted by their predecessors, and who would gladly distinguish their administration by the accomplishment of an object so universally desired as a secure and honourable peace.

Under these auspicious circumstances, negotiations had been opened and carried on with the utmost secrecy by the mediation of M. Otto, the French agent at London, and were forwarded by Mr. Merry, who was dispatched to Paris as an envoy extraordinary for that purpose.

When the nation rather hoped for peace than expected the restoration of that blessing with confidence, the joyful intelligence arrived in London, on the second of october, that the preliminaries of a treaty between his Britannic majesty and the French republic had been signed the preceding day, at Paris, by lord Hawkesbury on the part of Great Britain and Mr.

Otto

* See History of the East Indies. 1797. 98.

1801

Otto on the part of the French government.²—The most material articles of this treaty were that by which his Britannic majesty restored to the French republic and her allies all the conquests made on them in the course of the present war, except the islands of Trinidad and Ceylon, of which his majesty reserved the entire sovereignty. That which declared that the port of the Cape of Good Hope should be open to the commerce of the two contracting parties. That which declared that the island of Malta should be evacuated by the British troops, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem; and that, for the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it should be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty. And those which declared that Egypt should be restored to the sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions should be preserved entire, as they existed previously to the war: that the territories and possessions of her most faithful majesty should likewise be preserved entire: that the French forces should evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory: and the English forces should evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic: and that the French republic shall acknowledge the republic of the Seven Islands.¹

Universal joy was diffused through both countries on the publication of these preliminaries; which was expressed in addresses of congratulation and the most rapturous demonstrations. Men who consulted only their own feelings now anticipated the advantages which the two rival nations would enjoy from the commercial intercourse which was expected to be the consequence of peace. But the event will soon prove, that those persons were too sanguine in their expectations who thought that the first consul would be led either by inclination or policy to make the national welfare the standard of his foreign as well as domestic policy; and they were soon to be convinced that these considerations were overpowered by the feelings of disappointed ambition and rooted enmity towards Great Britain which raged in his breast.

His grand object was to establish himself in the power with which he had been invested: and it must be acknowledged that, where his judgment

was

¹ Ann. Regist. 276.² State Papers. 226.

was not warped by jealousy or lawless ambition, his measures were judicious.—It appears to have been the principle of his foreign policy either to hold the neighbouring powers in absolute subjection, thus to prevent them from molesting his government, or to constitute the neighbouring states in such a manner that they should feel an interest in supporting it. Preparatory to the new constitution intended for the Cisalpine and Ligurian republic, he had caused the chief appointments in them to be vested in persons devoted to his interests: and the Batavian republic was at this time organized after the French model.—In order to attach the king of Spain and the states dependent on him firmly to his interests, while he virtually enlarged his own power by extending that of the French republic, he concluded a treaty with that monarch, by which he guaranteed the possession of the duchy of Tuscany to the son of the infant duke of Parma, with the title of king of Etruria, on condition of the cession of the duchy of Parma to France.*

1801

The important affair of the indemnities to be given to those German princes who had been injured by the assumption which France had made of lands on the German frontier not being yet settled, and there being still reason to apprehend a rupture with the Germanic body on that ground, it was highly satisfactory to the first consul to conclude a treaty at this time with the elector Palatine of Bavaria,|| wherein he ceded the sovereignty and property of the domains which he had possessed on the left bank of the Rhine.†

The friendly understanding which had subsisted between France and the emperor of Russia since the defection of Paul from the coalition was now likewise confirmed by a treaty of amity with the emperor Alexander.—And the diplomatic transactions by which peace was restored between the French republic and the hostile powers were closed by a treaty of peace with the Ottoman Porte,† wherein it was agreed that the French forces should evacuate Egypt, and that the Ottoman Porte should be reinstated in the entire possession of that country.‡

His measures of internal policy were well adapted to preserve domestic tranquillity, and to attach men of different persuasions to his government.

The

|| August 24.

† October 9.

* State Papers, 324. 31.

† Idem. 299. 334.

‡ Idem. 297.

§ Idem. 293.

1801

—The anarchists, as the only effectual means to accomplish their ends, had endeavoured to destroy all religious faith, and failed in the attempt. Buonaparte, on the contrary, who, if he had not more religion than they, had at least more policy, employed the church-establishment as a means of confirming his own power. Perceiving the attachment of a great majority of the French nation to the religion of the church of Rome, and the reverence in which those of the clergy, in particular, were held who had sacrificed their temporal interests to their religious principles, he determined to make the whole body of the clergy, if possible, his friends by formally re-establishing the Romish church. For that purpose a convention, or *concordatum* was now entered into between the French republic and pope PIUS THE SEVENTH; wherein, among other articles, it was settled, that the nomination to all vacant sees should be in the first consul, and that of parish priests in the bishops. Moreover, that the bishops and clergy should, before they entered upon their function, swear fidelity to the existing government, and engage to discover any design against the state that might come to their knowledge. —There were some who thought that he was making too great a sacrifice to the good will of the Romish clergy when, to conciliate their support, he established a religion, whose principles were not congenial with those of a republic.—In reply to whom he said, “Make you no account, then, of a clergy who will pray every day “for the safety of the republic, and of bishops who will be obliged by “their oath to reveal all plots against it?”—That he might not, however, provoke the protestants to disturb his government by this predilection for the church of Rome, he gave them a perfect toleration under certain regulations calculated to secure their attachment to the state.—Thus did Buonaparte endeavour to harmonize the members of that body in which he was to preside, that disaffection might not prepare the way to rebellion against his power.

SPAIN

State Papers. 302.

v Ann. Regist. 282.

▪ State Papers. 305.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

THE events of the war between the crowns of Spain and Portugal having been already given, we need only add, in this place, that the prince regent of Portugal, alarmed at the rapid progress of the Spanish army, immediately submitted to a treaty of peace,[†] by which he engaged to make reparation of damages sustained by Spain, and to shut the ports of Portugal against the ships of Great Britain.*—The reader is referred to the French history for the negotiations which led to a general peace, and the articles in the treaty of Amiens which relate to these kingdoms.

1801

ITALY.

ITALY was now once more relieved from the calamities incident on a seat of war.—Sardinia had long since been subdued.—The first consul of France had suffered a pope to be elected to be the instrument of his policy.—The king of Naples, following the fortunes of the house of Austria, with which he had allied against France in the late campaign, now yielded to his evil fate, and signed an humiliating treaty with the French government,[‡] by which he engaged to shut his ports against the ships of his former ally, the king of England.—And Buonaparte, in order to confirm his power in Italy by the support of Spain and its dependencies, now put the son of the infant duke of Parma in possession of the duchy of Tuscany, with the title of king of Etruria, with the guarantee of the emperor and duke of Tuscany, by virtue of a treaty for that purpose with his catholic majesty.[‡]—In consequence of this treaty, the young prince was solemnly invested with the sovereignty by the name of LEWIS THE FIRST; and received the oaths of fidelity

1801

[†] June 6.

[‡] March 28.

[‡] March 21.

* State Papers. 349.

1801 fidelity and obedience from the Tuscan nation, in the presence of count Cæsar Ventura, minister plenipotentiary, and the French general Murat. ¶ *

In such periods of turbulence and revolution it is difficult for individuals remote from the scenes of politics to form just ideas of the circumstances of different states: they are, however, assisted by the representations of others.—We may judge of the happiness and independency of the newly created king of Etruria from the representation given by Thi- baudeau, counsellor of state to the French legislature. “The king of “Tuscany, tranquil on his throne, has been acknowledged by great “powers, and will be acknowledged by all. Four thousand French “are guarding *Leghorn* for him, and will evacuate it when he shall have “organized a national army.”—What encouragement for other nations to merit the friendship of France, which affords *such protection* to its friends!

The same minister gives us the following representation of the state of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republic.—“The Cisalpine and Liguria have at “length decreed their organization. Both fear, in the movements of the “first appointments, the revival of rivalry and hatred. They *have* “*appeared to desire* that the first consul should take these appointments “upon himself.”—Desirous to obtain a definitive organization, they requested the assistance of their founder.—With a view to the attainment of this object 450 members were at this time chosen from among the citizens of this republic; and, repairing to Lyons, they there, with *the first consul’s advice and assistance*, terminated their deliberations on the grand business of a constitution.—A detail of their proceedings would, perhaps, be uninteresting to the reader, were it consistent with the nature of this work. They were conducted with that unanimity which might be expected under the existing circumstances; the deputies either being really devoted to the first consul’s will, or sensible that they had no resources for resistance in themselves, nor allies on whom they could rely.—When the affair of a president was to be decided on, the *consulta*, as they were denominated, modestly

¶ August 2.

* State Papers. 299. 334.

modestly said, "that it was necessary to select a man, who by the ascen- 1801
 " dency of his name and his power, could place the republic in the rank
 " that befits its grandeur: that name and that power," said they, " were
 " no where to be found among themselves. We desire, therefore, most
 " ardently, that general Buonaparte will honour the republic by *continuing*
 " to govern it, and by associating with the direction of the affairs of
 " France the care of governing us during all the time that he shall think
 " necessary."—To this Buonaparte, with equal modesty, replied: " With
 " regard to the office of president, *I have found no one among you qualified*
 " *by the rank he holds in the public opinion*, sufficiently free of a local spirit,
 " and who had rendered services so great to his native country as to
 " qualify him for such an important trust."—The result of this happy
 concurrence of opinion was, that Buonaparte was chosen president of the
 Cisalpine republic; an office which was rendered more important by the
 circumstances under which he held it. By the article which relates to
 the government it was declared, that the president should remain ten
 years in office, and should be indefinitely re-eligible. That the president
 has the initiative of all laws, all diplomatic negotiations, and exclusively,
 through the means of ministers, of the executive power. He appoints
 the vice-president; who, in his absence, takes his place in the state
 consulta, and represents him in all those parts which he chooses to trust
 to him.^a

Enough is here seen of the constitution of the Cisalpine republic
 to evince that, after Buonaparte had professed to deliver the states
 which constitute it from oppression, to restore their rights, and plant
 the tree of liberty among them, he had subjected them to the abso-
 lute government of a foreign dictator, and a dependency on a foreign
 power.

SWITZERLAND.

^a Gentleman's Magazine, 16. 9.

 SWITZERLAND.

1801 THE history of the Swiss since the revolution is nothing more than a catalogue of their calamities. They were relieved from foreign war only to be afflicted with the sorer evil of domestic distraction.—“*Helvetia*,” says Thibaudeau, “has afforded, during the year nine, the spectacle of a “people torn by parties, each of those parties invoking the power and “sometimes the arms of France.”—Such is the picture given us, by a French minister, of a country which, before France disturbed it by its intrigues, was the seat of industry and peace.*—Repeated attempts have been made to organize a constitution which should be approved by the contending parties, but without success.—The last was settled by a diet assembled at Berne, on the twenty-ninth of september in this year. But this was protested against by the legislative council: and that body forthwith declared the Helvetic diet sitting at Berne to be dissolved, and its proceedings null and void.^b

GERMANY.

1801 THE definitive treaty concluded on the ninth of february at Luneville, between the emperor and Germanic body and the French republic, will ever remain a memorial of the degradation of the German empire.—We have seen in the treaty of Campo Formio, which was the basis of the present, that the emperor was required to cede the hereditary dominions of his ancestors in the low countries and Italy; and to take the spoils of the Venetian republic in compensation.—This humiliation on the part of his imperial majesty was equalled by that imposed on the empire in the following article. “And as in consequence of the cession which the “empire makes to the French republic, several princes and states of the “empire

* State Papers. 317.

^b *Idem*, 339.

“ empire will be dispossessed, either altogether or in part, whom it is 1801
 “ incumbent upon the Germanic empire collectively to support, the losses
 “ resulting from the stipulations in the present treaty, it is agreed between
 “ his majesty the emperor and king, as well in his own name as in that of
 “ the Germanic empire, and the French republic, that in conformity with
 “ the principles formally established at the congress of Rastadt, *the empire*
 “ *shall be bound to give* to the hereditary princes who shall be dispossessed
 “ on the left bank of the Rhine, an indemnity, *which shall be taken from*
 “ *the whole of the empire*, according to arrangements which on these bases
 “ shall be ultimately determined upon.”^a

This humiliating article, which may be considered as a punishment inflicted on the Germanic body for the disunion of its members and their consequent want of energy in carrying on the late war, was immediately productive of a dispute between the emperor and some of the German princes.—On the death of the electoral archbishop of Cologne and Munster, the emperor procured the election of his brother, the archduke Anthony, to the vacant see of Cologne. But the king of Prussia protested against it as inconsistent with the above article and the general sense of the parties in the congress at Rastadt, which imported, that those secular states which have suffered by ceding the left banks of the Rhine shall receive indemnifications which are to be effected by secularizations: these sees, therefore; he said, ought to continue vacant for the present.^b—The emperor endeavoured to remove his majesty's objections by assuring him, “ that with respect to the electorate of Cologne, the election of an archduke may be considered as indifferent; as the natural course of the accomplishing the indemnities by means of secularization will not be altered from personal consideration or secondary views.” But Frederic William, who acted in concert with the French government, not satisfied with this assurance, continued his opposition to a transaction which he was apprehensive might contribute to the power of his rival.

PRUSSIA,

^a State Papers. 272.

^b Idem. 280. 2.

^c Idem. 289.

PRUSSIA, DENMARK, AND SWEDEN.

1801

THE Prussian monarch, who had been for some years a contemplative spectator of the war which had desolated the south of Germany and Italy, was called into action again by the transactions of this year.—When an armed neutrality was formed by Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, to distress that power which stood alone in support of the cause in which his father professed to take up arms, that power to which his illustrious ancestor owed the preservation of Silesia, he seized the earliest opportunity of shewing his ingratitude and his disregard for the independency of Europe by joining the confederacy.—The events of the campaign which ensued, the triumph of Great Britain over the intrigues of France, the open hostilities of Denmark, and the hostile designs of Russia, Sweden, and Prussia, having been given in the English history, need not be repeated here. But we may hence learn how erroneously those persons will judge in politics, who reason upon a supposition that absolute princes, whose councils as such are liable to be influenced by their own passions and personal views or those of their ministers, will be directed in their measures of policy by a regard for the general welfare.

RUSSIA.

1801

MEN of reflection began to have the most gloomy presages of the distress which hung over the Russian nation, when they saw their trade ruined by the embargo laid on the English shipping, and the state threatened with war by the rash councils of a sovereign impelled by rage and influenced by the intrigues of a foreign power which was interested in involving them in hostilities with Great Britain.—Every day afforded some new testimony of his folly or his infuriate temper. His courtiers and
even

even his own family dreaded the effects of his ungovernable passion.* 1801
 The public mind was impressed with a persuasion that Russia would be sunk in an abyss of misery, if he continued to hold the reins of government. And it was rumoured that a cabal in the state were concerting the means of depriving him of the exercise of sovereign power.

Under these impressions were the Russian people when they were relieved from impending evils by the sudden death of Paul, in his forty-seventh year.—In what manner he died, whether by a stroke of apoplexy, as was given out by his courtiers, or by the hands of a band of conspirators, as many believed, does not appear to be well ascertained.*

He was succeeded on the throne by his son, ALEXANDER, then in his twenty-second year; a prince whose general conduct affords the Russians well-grounded prepossessions of a prosperous reign.**—With respect to foreign politics, the young monarch appears to be perfectly sensible of the extreme imprudence of his father's conduct. Without running violently into any party, he discovers a disposition to hold the balance even among the powers of Europe, and to preserve peace with all the world.—His first public act was a declaration in favour of the system of the late empress.

* Annual Register. 98. 115.

* The following anecdote evinces the eccentricity of Paul's character.—The writer of the historical part of the Annual Register, speaking of an interview between him and the king of Sweden, says, "The conversation turned on the military successes of his new French friends; the projects formed by the northern confederacy to humble the pride of England, and the invincible prowess which the emperor had displayed all day long in the tournament which had been exhibited. His majesty, fired with the spirit of chivalry, immediately resolved to send a defiance to all the potentates of Europe.—Agreeably with this resolution, the court gazette of St. Petersburg, december 30, 1800, contained the following: 'It is said that his majesty, the emperor, seeing that the powers of Europe cannot agree, and wishing to terminate a war, which has raged eleven years, intends to propose a place, where he will invite all other potentates, to fight with them in barriers closed up: for which purpose they are to bring with them their most enlightened ministers, and most skilful generals, as squires, umpires, and heralds; such as Thugut, Pitt, and Bernstorff. He himself intends to have with him count Vander Pahlui and count Kutosoff.'"—Annual Register. 115.

** "The happiest hope which Russia can entertain," says the author of *Secret Memoirs*, "is that she may one day see on the throne an emperor sufficiently wise and great to give it laws, to which he himself will submit; a prince of such magnanimity, as to be ashamed to reign inglorious over a people destitute of rights, and who may be capable of forming from the summit of his throne a gentle and easy descent, to arrive at freedom without a fall. This is what a true friend of Russia and humanity ought to wish; this alone can now immortalize an emperor."
 "Peter

1801 } empress.—This was immediately followed by an order for taking off the embargo laid on the English shipping.^b—And before the close of this year he concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the French republic.[†]

TURKEY.

1801 } THE accession of the emperor Alexander, a prince whose councils were pacific, to the throne of Russia, and the expulsion of the French from Egypt in consequence of the brilliant successes of the English arms, relieved the sultan from the apprehensions of molestation to his dominions in that quarter.—The joyful celebrations of this event at Constantinople were soon followed by those of another still more propitious to the happiness of the Turkish nation: that was a treaty of peace and amity between the sultan and the French government, † by which, among other articles, France recognised the republic of the Seven Islands, consisting of Corfu, Cephallonia, Zante and the other ex-Venetian territories near the coast of Greece, formed in 1800.

EAST INDIES.

1801

THE statement given by Mr. Dundas, as president of the East India board, to a committee of the whole house, of the positive and relative state of the

“ Peter the First himself lamented, that he was only the despot of a nation of slaves. At an interview he had with the king of Prussia at Parienwerder, he openly congratulated him on the happiness of being the king of a nation which he could govern by laws, while he could rule his only with the knout; and he promised to bestow on it a milder government, as soon as it should be sufficiently civilized to be susceptible of it.”—Civilization must be the gradual result of many concurring causes. The present emperor has afforded his subjects well-grounded prospects that he will adopt such measures of internal police as may contribute to this civilization, and prepare them for the enjoyment of more rational happiness, under a more mild and liberal system of government.

† October 8.

‡ October 9.

^b Ann. Regis. 115. 16.[†] State Papers. 291.[‡] Ann. Regis. 239. State Papers. 292.

the company's affairs, must afford satisfaction to all who feel themselves interested in the prosperity of the East India company, the general commercial interests of the kingdom, or the national resources. By this it appeared that the amount in which the general state of the whole concern had amended during the last year was £90,465.—That the aggregate amount of the sales in 1800-1 was £10,323,452; being £162,842 more than last year.—And that their present assets in India amount to £11,469,553; being £1,310,446 more than in 1800.*

1801

After comparing the present flourishing state of the company's affairs with what it had been in 1794, when they were so embarrassed that some were of opinion that it must be dissolved, and doing honour to the two noblemen under whose auspices they had made such advances, he adverts to the fall of Tippoo Sultan, as one of the chief grounds on which they might promise themselves increasing prosperity. "Whilst that restless tyrant was alive," says he, "confidence could not have existed and all that could have been expected was an armed truce. He had even checked the agriculture of the company's possessions, and in every way obstructed their improvement. Every seditious polygar and circar was led to revolt, relying on Tippoo for assistance."—Such is the satisfactory account given of the state of the company's affairs by a minister who by his talents and his assiduous attention to the business of his office, had very essentially contributed to their advancement.

WEST INDIES.

TOUSSAINT, pursuing his labours for the good of the state, was at this time employed in the execution of the measures prescribed by it for annexing the Spanish part of St. Domingo to that before possessed by France.—This year, he addressed a letter to the first consul,† informing him that this measure was accomplished.—That the finishing hand had been put to this work; that a central assembly had been held, "and that a constitution

1801

† July 16.

* Asiatic Ann. Register. 143 to 65.

b Idem. 145.

1801 " constitution was formed which promised happiness to the long-suffering
 " inhabitants of this colony, and which he transmitted to him for his
 " approbation and that of the government."*

Agreeably with his general conduct, when a formidable insurrection of the blacks, headed by Flaville a malecontent chief, was excited by an article in the French constitution authorizing the importation of slaves, ‡ from which they apprehended a revival of the old *regime* respecting negroes, he immediately marched against them, and took effectual means to suppress them.^b

The discipline and good order which he had restored in the island rendered such an achievement easy to him; which would, perhaps, have been impracticable by any other person. His conduct and the prosperous state of the colony are thus described by one who was a witness of it. " No
 " man in Europe can believe," says a Jamaican, " to what a degree of
 " regularity, order, tranquillity, and opulence, the black general Toussaint
 " has restored that colony. Every man in the island is under his subjec-
 " tion: and, so wisely has he tempered all his measures, that not a
 " murmur is heard from any party or colour: on the contrary his name
 " is venerated to a degree of enthusiasm much superior to that of Bu-
 " naparte in France. His troops, although nearly naked are in a superior
 " style of discipline: and I have seen large parties of negroes go through
 " the exercise in a manner that would do honour to a Prussian veteran."*

But the merit which gave Toussaint his ascendancy at the same time awakened apprehensions in the French government that he would employ it for the purpose of establishing an independent sovereignty in himself. —Buonaparte, being informed of his popularity, and of his declaration, that he was determined to effect a complete emancipation of the negroes, reflecting on the path by which he had ascended to the sovereign power himself, readily listened to the aspersions of Toussaint's enemies; and, whilst he was soothing him with kind professions, he adopted measures to avert the danger which he apprehended from him.—At the close of this year, general Leclerc embarked with a strong force on board a fleet under
 admiral

‡ October 25.

* State Papers. 361.

^b Gentleman's Magazine. 77. 8.

* Letter from a Gentleman in

Jamaica. ap. Gentleman's Magazine. 78.

admiral Villaret, destined to supersede Toussaint in his command, and to enforce the new laws respecting the future destiny of the blacks; and also to subdue the rebellion which had broken out in the isle of Dominique.

1801

AMERICAN STATES.

THE flourishing state of the American states affords pleasing prospects not only to the nation themselves, but to all who have a commercial intercourse with them.—The president of the congress informed the deputies this year, that, according to a census of the inhabitants lately taken, they might perceive that the increase of numbers, during the last ten years, proceeding in geometrical ratio, promised a duplication in little more than twenty-two years. Moreover, “that, other circumstances combined with the increase of numbers had produced an augmentation of revenue, arising from consumption, far beyond that of population alone; and that, although the changes in foreign relations, now taking place so desirably for the whole world may for a season affect this branch of revenue, yet, weighing all probabilities of expence, as well as of income, there was a reasonable ground of confidence that they might now safely dispense with all the internal taxes: and that the remaining sources of revenue would be sufficient to provide for the support of government, to pay the interest of public debts, and to discharge the principals in shorter periods than the laws, or the general expectation had contemplated.”—An obvious reflection suggested by this statement is, that the independency of America had been followed by, and has, probably, in a great measure, produced a rapid increase of consumption and of course an increased demand of European goods, the greater part of which are purchased of British merchants. This affords a striking example of a final good produced by an apparent evil.

1801

GREAT

* State Papers. 355. 6.

GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, SPAIN, AND HOLLAND.

1802.

1802 THE preliminaries of peace having been signed on the basis already set forth, the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland, repaired, towards the close of the late year, to Amiens, for the final adjustment of the treaty.—Some difficulties arose on the subject of the articles which related to the retention of Trinidad and Ceylon by Great Britain and the future disposal of the isle of Malta, which protracted their deliberations. These being at length overcome, the definitive treaty was signed, on the twenty-fifth of march, by the earl of Cornwallis on the part of his Britannic majesty, by Joseph Buonaparte on that of France, by the chevalier Azara for the king of Spain, and minheer Schimmelpennick for the Batavian republic.*

Such

* The article in the treaty relating to Malta purports that this island, Gazo and Camino shall be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held on the same conditions on which it possessed them before the war, and under certain stipulations, the most interesting of which, in a political view, are as follow :

“ 1. The knights of the order, whose languages shall continue to subsist, after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as soon as the exchange shall have taken place. They will there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a grand master, chosen from among the natives of the nations which preserve their language, unless that election has been already made since the exchange of the preliminaries.

“ It is understood that an election, made subsequent to that epoch, shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

“ 2. The governments of the French republic and of Great Britain, desiring to place the order and island of Malta in a state of entire independence with respect to them, agree, that there shall

Such was the result of a war of ten campaigns, the most destructive, the most eventful, and the most important in its consequences, of any upon record.—In the course of it, so entire a revolution had taken place in France that not a wreck was left of the old system as a memorial of its existence: the most unfortunate Lewis the Sixteenth, and all the princes of the original stem of the house of Bourbon were either brought to the scaffold or driven into exile: and the republic founded on the ruins of the ancient monarchy, amidst scenes of turbulence and bloodshed, accomplished what Lewis the Fourteenth had attempted in vain; it completely conquered

1802

“ shall not be in future either a French or English language; and that no individual belonging to either the one or other of these powers shall be admitted into the order.

“ 4. The forces of his Britannic majesty shall evacuate the island, and its dependencies, within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the order in its present state, provided the grand master, or commissaries fully authorized according to the statutes of the order, shall be in the island to take possession, and that the force which is to be provided by his Sicilian majesty, as is hereafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

“ 5. One half of the garrison, at least, shall be always composed of native Maltese; for the remainder the order may levy recruits in those countries only which continue to possess the languages (*posseder les langues.*) The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers. The commander in chief of the garrison, as well as the nomination of the officers, shall pertain to the grand master; and this right he cannot resign even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the council of the order.

“ 6. The independence of the isles of Malta, of Gazo, and Camiso, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

“ 7. The neutrality of the order and of the island of Malta, with its dependencies, is proclaimed.

“ 8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties; these duties shall be applied to the cultivation of the Maltese language, as specified in paragraph 3, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, as well as to that of a general lazaretto, open to all colours.

“ 12. His Sicilian majesty shall be invited to furnish 2000 men, natives of his states, to serve in garrison of the different fortresses of the said islands. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from the restitution to the knights; and if at the expiration of this term the order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgment of the guaranteeing powers, to garrison the island and its dependencies, such as is specified in the 5th paragraph, the Neapolitan troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said powers.

“ 13. The different powers designated in the 6th paragraph, to wit, France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.”—*Gentleman's Magazine*. p. 453. 454.

1802 conquered the Austrian Netherlands; it made the Rhine the boundary of its dominions towards Germany, and the Alps towards Italy.—In the course of this war, the house of Austria lost a considerable part of its territories, and still more of its weight in the scale of Europe: the Prussian monarch lost his fame: the Dutch and Swiss republic, though indulged with the denomination of independent states, were, in fact rendered absolutely dependent on France: the pontiff was suffered to slumber in the papal chair as long as he should be content with the mode of existence which was assigned him: the Italian states were entirely new modelled, and subjected to the power of the first consul: and the king of Sardinia, and the remaining sovereigns of the house of Bourbon, can be considered in no other light than as captive monarchs, gracing that conqueror's triumphal car.

Far different was the state of Great Britain at the close of this contest. In all that is essential to dignity of character her conduct claims a most distinguished pre-eminence. She had, it is true, made a full trial of her resources, and had strained the sinews of public credit: but she had preserved the honour of the British crown unsullied. If she was disfigured with wounds and bruises in the combat, they were all in front: if her shield be battered, it is yet resplendent: *intaminatis fulget honoribus*.* Whilst other states were crouching before a foreign oppressor, she still maintained her proper station among the powers of Europe, and braved his utmost effort to subdue her spirit. And although the present generation may have suffered in their fortunes, they have the satisfaction of transmitting their rights and liberties unimpaired to posterity.*

* Hor. Carm. 3. 2.

* It is observed by a writer of high repute, "that no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth; and to see the errors and wanderings, and mists and tempests in the vale below."*—No period of history ever afforded so great a variety of such objects to engage the attention of mankind as the present. No humane person can contemplate the scenes of misery which attended the French revolution, and the events which ensued on it, without feelings of pity towards the sufferers in them, and awful presages of the evils which still threaten Europe should its powers continue to be tame spectators of the aggrandizement of France.

These

* Bacon's Essay on Truth.

These may be considered as matters of interesting speculation only to the generality of men; but they are matters of the most serious contemplation to those who fill the highest departments in society. The future fortune of their empires depend, perhaps, on the line of policy which they pursue at this important crisis: and happy are those countries where the reins of government are held by men whose dispassionate and enlightened minds place them on that vantage ground from which they may see the errors and wanderings of others; and who have judgment and inclination to apply their observations on them to the regulation of their own conduct. "Hoc
" *illud est præcipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in*
" *illustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi, tuæque reipublicæ quod imitere capias: inde*
" *fædum inceptu, fædum exitu quod vites.*"^b

1802

^b Liv. Præfatio.

MISCELLANIES.

M I S C E L L A N I E S.

ARTICLE I.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THESE miscellanies consist of such information relative to internal government, revenue, military and naval force, arts, sciences and letters, commerce and manufactures, public works, and other matters, as could not be introduced in the general histories of the several states without interrupting the narrative of civil, political and military events and transactions, or could not be given so connectedly.—They may, perhaps, be interesting to such persons as are not provided with better sources, as not only affording them some information respecting these matters, but giving them a comparative view of the state of the several kingdoms, &c. and the means employed for their improvement.

ECOLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Great Britain, happily, was not interested in those affairs relative to religion which embroiled some of the nations on the continent during this period.—It had partaken, in common with all Europe, of the benefits derived to the literary world from the labours of the jesuits: but,
 202 the

the reformation having prevented their establishment here, the kingdom was not concerned in those violent measures which led to, and at last effected, their abolition.

The acts of the British legislature relating to religion breathe the liberal spirit of an enlightened age.—The first which occurs is that passed in the year 1778, in consequence of a motion by sir George Saville, “for the repeal of certain penalties and disabilities laid on “roman catholics by an act of king William to prevent the growth of “popery.”—The same motive, a consideration of the cruelty and bad policy of continuing a deprivation of privileges when the reasons on which they were grounded cease to exist, induced the legislature to pass another act in 1791, “to relieve upon certain conditions, and under certain “restrictions, persons who (from their protesting against the temporal “power of the pope) were called *protesting roman catholics*, from certain penalties and disabilities to which papists are by law subject.”

POPULATION.

In the year 1689, when the tax of hearth-money was abolished, the number of houses in England and Wales was computed at about 1,230,000: which, at six persons to a house, brings the population to 7,280,000.*

According to the returns made of the population of England and Wales in 1801, that of the former amounted to 8,331,434; and that of the latter to 541,434: to which must be added the army and navy 469,188: convicts on board the hulks 1,410. In all 9,334,578 persons; which, if the extent be 50,000 square miles, as stated by Zimmermann, is 186 persons to a square mile.—Of this population that of London was 864,845 persons.

According to the chevalier de Tinceau, who published a statistical view of France in 1803, in which he adverts to the population of the British dominions, the population of Ireland is somewhat more than 4,000,000 persons, and that of Scotland 1,607,760. And that of Guernsey, Jersey, and other small islands 80,000 persons.

FINANCE.

* Anderson. 583.

FINANCE.

As pecuniary resources are the main-spring of government, as on them the possible force to be exerted by a state in a great measure depends, it may be satisfactory to the reader not only to know the present state of the revenue, but the state of it in preceding periods. Therefore the writer has reverted to the revolution; an era memorable for the commencing of the funding system, as well as for the perfect establishment of our present constitution. For although Charles the Second, left a debt amounting to £1,928,526, of which the bankers had been defrauded by the shutting up of the exchequer, and had charged his hereditary revenue with six per cent interest, yet no *parliamentary* provision was made for the payment of the interest till the year 1699, when the revenue of excise was charged with the interest of three per cent, and the capital was declared to be redeemable at a moiety of the whole sum, or £664,263.*—The whole revenue in 1698, we are informed by sir John Sinclair, amounted to £1,570,318. It therefore became necessary to make large parliamentary grants, and to raise large sums by way of loan, for the purpose of carrying on the wars in which king William was engaged.

GRANTS OF PARLIAMENT AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

In 1688 the sum of £2,726,007.

In 1696, £11,530,159.

During the fourteen years of king William's reign, £55,407,078.

The grant made by the first parliament of queen Anne, in 1701, £6,238,628.

In 1710, after eight years of war, the unprecedented grant of £17,107,095.

During the thirteen years of queen Anne's reign, £80,587,400.

The grants made by the parliament called in 1715, the year after the accession of George the First, £6,104,726.

In

* Sir John Sinclair's Hist. of Revenue. 45. 2d part.

MISCELLANIES.

In 1723 the small sum of £1,750,000.

During the thirteen years of George the First's reign, the grants amounted only to £34,794,818.—It is to be observed that the national debt at this king's accession amounted to £54,145,363.

The grants made by the parliament called in 1728, the year after the accession of George the Second, £3,511,694.

In 1747, after a war of eight years, £10,680,000.

In 1760, after a war of six years, £19,101,067.

During a reign of thirty-four years, £205,798,561.

The grants made by the parliament in 1762 amounted to £18,299,153.

The grants of 1773, the year before the American war commenced, were £6,980,210.

The grants of 1782 amounted to £24,261,477.

The grants of 1791 were £14,064,656.

The total of the supplies for the year 1801 amounted to £46,886,303.

NATIONAL DEBT.

The accumulation of the national debt is another object deserving our attention in the financial system.

At the revolution, it was only £664,263.

At the death of William the Third, £16,394,702.

At the death of queen Anne, £54,145,363.

At the death of George the First, £52,092,235.

In the year 1739, £46,382,650.

In the year 1749, £78,166,906.

In the year 1755, £75,077,264.

In the year 1764, £146,682,844.

In the year 1775, £135,943,051.

In the year 1783, £246,222,392.

THE CIVIL LIST.

The civil list, as settled after the revolution, in 1689, was £600,000 a year.

The

The revenue of the crown, as settled at the same time, was £1,200,000 a year.

In the reign of George the First, the civil list was augmented to £.700,000: and at the accession of George the Second it was augmented to £.800,000.—Moreover, a revenue of £.100,000 a year was settled on the queen, in case of her surviving his majesty.^c

The state of the civil list, as settled at the accession of his present majesty, according to Blackstone, is as follows: “ In the late reigns, the
“ produce of certain branches of the excise and customs, the post office,
“ the duty on wine licenses, the revenues of the remaining crown lands,
“ and the profits arising from courts of justice, (which articles include
“ all the hereditary revenues of the crown) and also a clear annuity of
“ £.120,000 in money, were settled on the king for life, for the support
“ of his majesty’s household, and the honour and dignity of the crown.
“ And as the amount of these several branches was uncertain, if they
“ did not amount annually to £.800,000, the parliament engaged to
“ make up the deficiency. But his present majesty having, soon after
“ his accession, voluntarily signified his consent that his own hereditary
“ revenues might be so disposed of as might best conduce to the utility
“ and satisfaction of the public, and having graciously accepted the
“ limited sum of £.800,000 per annum, for the support of the civil
“ list (and that also charged with life annuities to the princess of Wales,
“ the duke of Cumberland, and the princess Amelia, amounting to
“ £.77,000) the said hereditary and other revenues are now carried
“ into and made a part of the aggregate fund, and that fund is charged
“ with the payment of the whole annuity of £.800,000.

“ The expences defrayed by the civil list are those which in any manner
“ relate to the civil government; as the expences of the household, all
“ salaries to officers of state, to the judges and the king’s servants, the
“ appointments to foreign ambassadors, the maintenance of the queen,
“ and royal family, the king’s private expences or privy purse, and other
“ very numerous outgoings, such as secret service money, pensions, and
“ bounties.”^d

NAVY

^c Smollet. 2. 432.

^d Blackstone. 1. 332.

NAVY AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

King Richard the First, when he weighed anchor from Messina in Sicily, upon his expedition against the infidels, is said to have, had "an hundred and fifty great ships, fifty-three gallies, besides barks, tartans, and other small vessels attending the fleet, with ammunition and provisions."^c—This is a proof of the king's zeal in the cause in which he was embarked: and it appeared soon after that he had exhausted his revenue and resources to fit out this vast fleet.—Neither the size of the ships, nor the number of men, is given.

In the war in which Henry the Eighth engaged against France, in conjunction with his father-in-law, Ferdinand king of Spain, he had eighteen ships, with 3000 men on board. Of these ships there were only six of three hundred tons and upwards.^f—In the ensuing year Henry sent out a fleet consisting of forty-two sail.

Queen Elizabeth is said by Camden in the year 1561 "to have been able to send out 20,000 fighting men for sea service."

According to Burchet, the queen had in 1578 one ship of 100 guns, nine of 88 to 60, and forty-nine from 58 to 40. Beside these fifty-nine ships of the line, she had fifty-eight vessels from 38 to 20 guns, and twenty-nine from 18 to 6;^g so greatly had the naval force of the kingdom been increased during her reign.

In the year 1688, according to Davenant, the tonnage of the royal navy, which in 1660 was only 62,594 tons, was increased to 101,082 tons.

In the year 1720 the navy consisted of an hundred and eighty-two ships, of which fifty-nine were of 70 guns and upwards: in all 9940 guns.

In the year 1715 the tonnage of the royal navy was 167,596 tons: in 1727 it was 170,862: and in 1749 it was augmented to 228,215 tons.

The following comparative statement of the naval force of Great Britain and the powers with which she was engaged in war, in 1781, is given by Mr. Anderson. "Her navy," says he, "was at this time on a most formidable establishment: it consisted of no less than four hundred
" and

^c Anderson. 1. 174.

^f Idem. 2. 23.

^g Idem.

“ and thirty vessels, in the best possible condition, and manned with the
 “ best seamen in Europe. The fleets of France, Spain, and Holland were
 “ but in a small degree superior to those of Great Britain in numbers,
 “ and very far inferior to them in construction and equipment. The
 “ sailors, those of Holland excepted, were chiefly composed of landsmen
 “ unaccustomed and very averse to the element on which they served.
 “ France, with all its exertions, did not reckon more than two hundred
 “ and sixty-four vessels of all rates; Spain not more than an hundred and
 “ twenty-four, and Holland but sixty. The residue of the European
 “ marine in *actual commission*, among those powers which formed the
 “ armed neutrality, amounted to no more than eighty-four ships of all
 “ sorts. Of these twenty-nine belonged to Russia, thirty to Sweden, and
 “ twenty-five to Denmark.”^a

ARMY.

Zimmermann, who wrote in 1785, states the peace establishment of Great Britain to be 40,000 men.—Of these were seventy-three regiments of infantry, beside three regiments of foot guards.

According to that author, the whole of the army in the preceding war, including the foreign troops in English pay, amounted to about 135,000 men.—Twelve regiments of cavalry and twenty of infantry are usually in Ireland, and are maintained in that kingdom.ⁱ

The force employed during the late war was far greater.—It appears from a statement of the secretary at war in 1800, that the number of *effective* men, including invalids, militia, and foreign corps, as well as the fencible troops, serving in the pay of Great Britain on the twenty-fourth of december in that year, was 168,082.^k

SCIENCES.

The sciences have been cultivated with great success in Great Britain from the close of the sixteenth century to the present time. They derived every possible assistance from the royal academy instituted in the reign
 of

^a Anderson. 4. 328.
 VOL. IV.

ⁱ Zimmermann's Political Survey.

^k Ann. Reg. 1801. p. 40.
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of Charles the Second: and they flourished under the auspices of the immortal Boyle, Newton, and that constellation of philosophers in the seventeenth century, whose example and celebrity excited emulation in their contemporaries.—They are now in so prosperous a state that they need little more than protection from the government: and where encouragement, in particular branches, promises to forward their advancement, it is given them.

The first act of the state to promote the arts and sciences in the course of this period, was that of 1753 for the purchase of the museum of sir Hans Sloane, and of the Harleian collection of manuscripts; and for providing one general repository for the better reception and more convenient use of the said collections; and also of the Cottonian library; and of the additions which may be made to them.—For these purposes a number of trustees were incorporated, of which were the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and other chief officers of state for the time being, together with the speaker of the house of commons. The sum of £.500,000 was raised by a lottery, for the purposes of the before-mentioned and other purchases; and also to provide a fund for the payment of the salaries to the keeper of the museum and other officers.—In consequence of this institution, the palace of the late duke of Montagu was purchased by the trustees for the reception of the several collections.¹

Longitude.—An act was passed, in the same year,† for the further encouragement of the discovery of the longitude at sea.—An act had been passed in the twelfth of queen Anne, appointing commissioners who should judge of the merit of any methods which might be proposed to them. Upon their representation of the probability of a discovery, the commissioners of the navy were empowered to make out a bill for any sum not exceeding £.2000.—Moreover, as the ultimate reward for the discoverer of the longitude, £.10,000 was offered to any one who should determine it to one degree; £.15,000 to him who should determine it to two thirds, and £.20,000 to him who should determine it to half a degree.—The

† 1753.

¹ Anderson. 3. 296.

—The commissioners having disbursed £.1250 to Mr. Harrison for a trial of his time-piece, and £.500 to Mr. Whiston for his survey of the longitude and latitude of the ports of the kingdom, out of the above £.2000, the same commissioners were enabled, by a subsequent act, to raise a further sum of £.2000 for the same purposes.^m

Mr. John Harrison made trial of his father's time-piece in two voyages, one to Jamaica and the other to Barbadoes: and the instrument was found to have determined the longitude with an accuracy exceeding that which entitled the discoverer to the greatest reward. The claim was thereupon made, and the merits of the discovery were examined by the commissioners. And, upon an application to parliament, a bill was passed, in 1765, "for granting Mr. Harrison £.10,000 upon the discovery of the principles of his time-keeper, and £.10,000 more when such other time-keepers shall have been made and tried as shall give satisfaction to the commissioners of longitude."—After some difficulties were removed which arose from Mr. Harrison's unwillingness to make the discoveries required of him, the first sum of £.10,000 was paid him.ⁿ—Although Mr. Harrison was, strictly speaking, entitled to the premium, yet much doubt was entertained respecting the general utility of his time-keeper. However, we are informed, in his life, "that the inventor, at different times, though not without infinite trouble, received the proposed reward of £.20,000."

There were two other methods brought forward at this time, which were judged to have a considerable degree of merit; one was Mr. Irvin's marine chair for observing the occultation and emersion of jupiter's satellites; the other by taking the distance of the moon from the fixed stars with Hadley's quadrant.—The tedious calculation attending the lunar method being objected to it, Mr. Witchell presented to the board a method by which that calculation may be reduced to a single proportion by logarithms, and consequently may be rendered as simple as can be desired.^p—In consequence of the investigation of the merits of these methods, £.500 was granted to Mr. Irvin, and £.200 to Mr. Witchell.^p

(1783.) About this time, a royal society for the encouragement of arts and sciences was established at Edinburgh.

Voyages.

^m Anderson. 3. 58. 297.

ⁿ Annual Register. 1764. 97.

^p Annual Register. 1765. 113 of Projects.

^p Idem. 1762. 99. Chron. 1765. 129. Projects.

Voyages.—Among the measures of government to promote science may be ranged the voyages made for the purpose of discoveries, or for the ascertainment of geological and geographical questions.—It is here intended only to give the objects of the several voyages and their general results; in order to make the reader acquainted with the means employed by the several states for the advancement of these branches of knowledge. For such further information as is incompatible with the nature of this work the reader is referred to the particular accounts of the several expeditions.

Voyages of discovery in the Pacific Ocean had been made, by order of his Britannic majesty, by commodore Byron in the years 1764, 65 and 66: and by captains Wallis and Carteret, the former in the *dolphin*, and the latter in the *swallow* sloop, in the years 1767-8 and 9: and some interesting discoveries had been made by them, chiefly on the south of the equator.

But the most memorable, and in their results the most important, voyages of discovery in these and in the north-eastern seas were performed by captain James Cook. Having recommended himself to the admiralty by his services as a naval officer and his skill in the science of navigation, he was appointed in 1768 to conduct an expedition to the South Seas, accompanied by Mr. Green as astronomer and Mr. Solander and sir Joseph Banks as naturalists, for the purpose of observing the transit of venus which was to take place in the month of june in the ensuing year, and prosecuting discoveries in that quarter of the globe. And no man could be better qualified for the commission with which he was honoured. His understanding was vigorous, his frame and constitution robust, his disposition enterprising, his temper patient and persevering; and he had that ardent fondness for his profession which, when united with talents, may not improperly be called a genius for it.

Leaving England in the ship *endeavour* august twenty-sixth 1768, he took a south-westerly course; and, having doubled Cape Horn, he steered for Otaheite, where their observations were made.—After that he visited the neighbouring islands of Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola, to which he gave the name of *Society Islands*. Then sailing to New Zealand, in the same hemisphere, he made a survey of the two islands, and discovered

discovered the straits between them, afterwards called by his name. When he had explored the eastern coast of New Holland, before unknown, he steered for England, by the Cape of Good Hope, and reached it June the twelfth 1771.

He sailed upon his second voyage in July 1772, and took a south-westerly course.—After visiting Otaheite and the Friendly Islands, he proceeded to latitude 71, where he was stopped by a barrier of ice. In traversing these southern regions, he discovered Palliser Islands, and New Caledonia, the island which he named Georgia, in honour of his sovereign, and an unknown coast called by him Sandwich Land, the *thule* of the southern hemisphere.—He returned from this voyage in July 1775; having, among other objects of it, ascertained the important question of a southern continent: for he had traversed that hemisphere, between the degrees of 40 and 70 in such a manner as not to leave a possibility of its existence, unless near the Pole, and out of the reach of navigation.

He sailed the ensuing year on his third and last voyage, the chief object of which was the discovery of a north-east passage.—On this voyage, after making some discoveries in the southern hemisphere, he steered for the western coast of America; which he traced till he came to a strait which divides it from Asia. Having made such an accurate survey of the coasts of each as to demonstrate the impracticability of a northern passage, he sailed to the Sandwich Islands, where, unfortunately for his country, he was killed in the month of February 1779, in a skirmish with the savages of O-Why-ee.—Whilst we are relating the enterprises of this celebrated navigator, which were such as added essentially to the science of geography, we ought not to be inattentive to another part of his merit, noticed by his companion and biographer, captain James King, which will give pleasure to every humane person—"that was the method which he discovered, and so successfully pursued, for preserving the health of seamen; which forms a new era in navigation, and will transmit his name to future ages among the friends and benefactors of mankind."

That no doubt might be left on the minds of men respecting the existence of a passage to the East Indies by the north-east, commodore Phipps and captain Lutwich were sent out, before Cook's last voyage, to carry on the discoveries which had been made by the Russians and others

others in the seas near the north pole.—They sailed in June 1773: they landed on Spitzbergen: and, having passed Hactluyt's Headland, they proceeded as far as the 81st degree of latitude, where they were arrested by the ice, and with difficulty disengaged themselves; the thermometer at that time standing at 37 degrees 46 minutes.—The result of this voyage, the journal of which is a narrative of difficulties, hardships, and dangers, corresponded with the subsequent report of Cook; "that no passage would ever be found practicable in that direction."—Even in these remote regions nature has bestowed on her works beauties of a peculiar kind, the description of which will be gratifying to those who are disposed to such contemplations. The narrator of this voyage thus describes the country near Smearingburgh harbour, in the 81st degree of latitude.—"The country is stony, and, as far as can be seen, full of mountains, precipices and rocks. Between these are hills of ice, generated, as it should seem, by the torrents that flow from the melting of the snow on the sides of those towering elevations, which being once congealed, are continually increased by the snow in winter, and the rain in summer, which often freezes as soon as it falls. By looking on these hills, a stranger may fancy a thousand different shapes of trees, castles, churches, ruins, ships, whales, monsters, and all the various forms that fill the universe. Of the ice-hills there are seven, that more particularly attract the notice of a stranger. These are known by the name of the Seven Ice-burghs, and are thought to be the highest of the kind in that country. When the air is clear, and the sun shines full upon these mountains, the prospect is inconceivably brilliant. They sometimes put on the bright glow of the evening rays of the setting sun, when reflected upon glass, at his going down; sometimes they appear of a bright blue, like sapphire, and sometimes like the variable colours of a prism, exceeding in lustre the richest gems in the world, disposed in shapes wonderful to behold, all glittering with a lustre that dazzles the eye, and fills the air with astonishing brightness."

Among the naval enterprises of the English, the means employed by government for the introduction of the breadfruit tree, which had been found at Otaheite, into the West India islands, is very deserving of notice.—Sir Joseph Banks having given it as his opinion that this tree might be successfully

successfully cultivated in them, captain Bligh sailed in the autumn of 1787 with a vessel destined to bring a cargo of them to the West Indies.—The ship being laden with them, the captain took his departure from Otaheite april the fourth, 1789.—But twenty-three days after, when the ship was in the midst of the Pacific, steering its course for the Moluccas, the crew mutinied, and put the captain and eighteen of the crew who would not join the mutineers overboard into the ship's boat, with only an hundred and forty pounds of bread and thirty of meat, to shift for themselves.—Fortunately, they were provided with a compass and quadrant: with the assistance of these, they, in forty days, during which there was almost continued rain, reached the Dutch settlement of Timor, which was calculated to be 4000 miles from the place where they were embarked.*

This disaster did not, however, prevent the execution of the design.—“ After several unsuccessful attempts, the introduction of the bread fruit,” says Mr. Edwards, “ was happily accomplished, in january 1793, by the “ arrival at St. Vincent, of his majesty's ship providence, captain W. Bligh, “ and the assistant brig, captain N. Portlock, from the South Seas; having “ on board many hundreds of those trees and a vast number of other “ curious plants, which have been properly distributed through the islands “ of St. Vincents and Jamaica, and have already afforded the pleasing “ prospect that his majesty's goodness will be felt in the most distant “ periods.”†

THE LIBERAL ARTS.

Although the fine arts are much cultivated and encouraged in the present age, yet the manners and circumstances of it are not favourable to a high degree of excellence in them.

The age of Leo the Tenth and Francis the First was not an age the general character of which was marked with a taste for expence. However men in the highest ranks might rival each other in splendour and magnificence, those in lower stations had no such temptations to expence.—Luxury not being the general taste of the age, the wants of artists, as of others in the middle and lower ranks of life, were comparatively few.

Moreover,

* Ann. Regist. 252 of App.

† Pref. to Mr. Edward's Hist. of the West Indies.

Moreover, most men of distinguished character in it sought for fame by the patronage of arts and letters. The modest and amiable Corregio, who lived and died in low circumstances, followed the bent of his genius, because his desires were bounded within a narrow compass, and a passion for his art superseded every other in his breast: and if the wants of his cotemporary Leonardo da Vinci were greater, they were supplied by a succession of munificent patrons. The object of both was fame, not pecuniary emolument.

But the circumstances of artists in the present age are very different. From the taste of the age for expence, their wants are numerous: and, although they have many purchasers, they have few patrons. Though they may be endowed with genius and actuated by the desire of fame, instead of pursuing it by labouring to produce what is perfect in its kind, and best calculated to give them lasting celebrity, they are obliged by their wants to consider what is most saleable or most easily produced.

Even under these disadvantages the liberal arts are at present flourishing in Great Britain, and receive all the encouragement that is compatible with the state of society. In 1768 a royal academy was established with his majesty's patronage, for the study and encouragement of the fine arts, under the direction of forty of the most eminent artists in the kingdom. Its first president was sir Joshua Reynolds, a man who did honour to the society and his profession.

(1765.) In a cause relative to the copyright in engravings, the question whether the force of an act passed in the late reign in favour of the inventors and designers of them extended to portraits was decided in their affirmative.—This decision could not but be gratifying to all who were interested in the prosperity of the fine arts; who consider them as of the same family, and administering to each other's success; and who think the nation honoured in having produced a Woollet, a Hall, and a Boydell, as well as a Reynolds and a Gainborough.

AGRICULTURE.

* Annual Register. 87.

AGRICULTURE.

Very little has been done by general acts of the legislature, for the advancement of agriculture, during this period, because little was seen to be necessary; but much has been done by individuals, under the protection of a free government.—No country in the world, perhaps, ever made such rapid advances in agricultural improvements in the course of half a century.—These appear to have been chiefly derived from the following causes.

The foundation of them, as of every other source of national prosperity, is the security of person and property afforded by our happy constitution.—Another cause is the certainty of our market; which has been increased by an act of king William's reign, importing, "that when malt or barley is "at one pound four shillings per quarter, or under, rye at one pound "twelve shillings, and wheat at two pounds eight shillings, then it shall "not only be lawful to export the same, but the exporters shall receive "the following bounties: viz. two shillings and sixpence per quarter for "malt or barley; three shillings and sixpence for rye; and five shillings "for wheat."—Another cause is the practice of laying lands in severalty; which enables the occupiers in some instances to double their product by a proper succession of crops.—Another is the practice of letting estates upon leases of such length as may afford the occupiers a sufficient inducement to make such improvements as the land is capable of. A person who rents an arable farm for a term of twelve years will be encouraged to improve it by expensive manures, and to introduce restorative crops, in the beginning of his lease, by the rational prospect which he has of reimbursing himself in the last years of it: whereas one who is at rack rent, or has a very short lease, especially if he be fettered by a tenantry field, will impoverish his land by a continual effort to procure immediate profit.—These causes combined have induced men of substance to employ their capitals in agriculture; and have produced another cause of its present flourishing state in the respectability of the present body of farmers.

The effects of our improvements are seen in our increased products.—

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By

By a comparison of the late with preceding surveys, it appears that the population is increased within the last century by a fourth part. And the number of horses is increased in a much greater proportion.—Moreover, in estimating consumption, we ought to observe, that the number of persons who eat meat and of horses which eat corn, the most expensive subsistence, is increased in more than an equal proportion to the total increase of population. Men of property, in general, consume the produce of a greater quantity of land than the poor: and there is added to the property in land, within a century, the property arising from the funds, and a vast increase of property from trade and manufactures. And yet, notwithstanding the increase of population is great, and of consumption much greater, the excess of our average imports to our exports of corn is trifling.

Although our improvements in agriculture are to be ascribed chiefly to these causes, the legislature has not, in the mean-time, been inattentive to this object. By two acts of the twenty-ninth and thirty-first of George the Second, it was enacted, “that any lords of wastes and commons, with
“the consent of the major part in number and value of the commoners,
“may inclose any part thereof, for the growth of timber and underwood.”—An act has since been passed to facilitate the laying common fields in severalty; which, unfortunately, has not been seen to produce the desired effect.

Agriculture has, during this period, not only received the encouragement arising from the attention of men of fortune and the repute in which it is held, but has been honoured with the express countenance of the state.—A society had some years since been established, under the denomination of *The Bath and West of England Society*, for the purpose of encouraging improvements in husbandry and dispersing agricultural information. But the state, deeming it proper to give so important an object its patronage and assistance, in 1793, with the sanction of the legislature, instituted a board for the purpose of making and forwarding agricultural improvements; an institution which may be of benefit to the community, if the attention of its professors be directed, as, no doubt, it is, to such minute experiments as cannot be made by practical farmers; particularly on the properties of manures, and of soils, and the effects of different manures upon different soils.

The

The Poor.—From the expedients adopted for the improvement of land and the increase of its product, the transition is natural to the means of amending the condition of those who are employed in cultivating it.—The distress of the poor, their gradual depravation, and the enormous and still increasing burthen of the rates for their relief, have engaged the attention of several able writers on public economy. But they *appear* not to have paid due regard to the cause of the evil, nor to have adapted their remedies to it. Much has been done by government, and several plans have been devised, for the *relief* of distress, but nothing has been done to *prevent* it.

It is obvious that the root of the evil is the loss of that spirit of independency which prevailed among the labouring orders in former periods: a degree of reproach was then attached to the receiving parochial relief, and few men submitted to ask it without a struggle to maintain their independency; whereas at present it is demanded as a right, and the number of receivers is so great that it is not considered as affixing any stigma.

If this be admitted, the question then will be, what was the origin of that spirit of independency, and whether it be possible to recover it.

The chief foundation of it, beside the innate love of independency, will be found to be property. In past ages, a considerable part of the cottages were the property of the inhabitants. They were of course actuated by the motives derived from property. The owner of a cottage felt a sense of importance, and a value for himself, which became a principle of action: he was industrious to preserve his property: knowing that he could not receive parochial relief, even should he deign to ask it, without selling his cottage, he was economical and provident to avoid the occasion of it: instead of looking forward to the relief which he should ask, or demand, he looked to the kindness and assistance which he should merit: he endeavoured to merit the kind offices of his master by his diligence, his attachment, and his fidelity. Moreover, the interest which he felt in his property, by attaching him to his country, made him a loyal subject of the state.

If all this be admitted, the next question will be, whether the evil be not capable of alleviation, at least, if not of a complete remedy: whether such encouragement might not be held out to industry and providence as might counteract the ill effects of the premium which, under the present system

system of parochial relief, is indirectly offered to idleness and improvidence: whether it be not possible gradually to get the cottages back again into the hands of the inhabitants, and, by that means, to revive the spirit of independency.

In questions which are not capable of demonstrative proof, we ought to speak with diffidence: and the writer submits it to the judgment of those who are more conversant in matters relating to public economy than himself, whether such a design be not feasible by the combined exertions of the principal land owners in the kingdom. This he will take upon him to say, and he has no doubt of being supported by the opinion of the whole nation, that no undertaking can be more deserving their regard than that of relieving their own estates and the national property from a grievous and increasing burthen, of enlarging the national resources, and redeeming thousands of their fellow subjects from dependence, misery, and profligacy.

The writer is aware how apt men are to be visionaries with regard to matters about which they are sanguine: and he would suspect himself of being such in his sentiments respecting the beneficial effects of property had he not seen them uniformly supported by facts.—But however confident he may be in his theory, he is far from being so with respect to any particular scheme for reducing it to practice. This he leaves to more able persons; contenting himself with suggesting, whether a national institution for the encouragement of industry and for promoting any subordinate plan for the same purpose, empowered to grant premiums to persons recommended by certain descriptions of merit, might not be adopted with a fair prospect of success.

ARTS, MANUFACTURES, AND COMMERCE.

Our superior skill in almost every branch of the useful arts, the highly improved state of our manufactures, and the vast extent of our commerce, are owing to a variety of natural and political causes, of which the following appear to be the chief.—The insular situation of the British dominions; whence it arises that no part of them is at a great distance from some port: an extensive and indented coast, affording excellent harbours:

harbours: a climate favourable to exertion: the active, patient, persevering temper of the people, which will not suffer them to leave any work till they have brought it to a high degree of perfection. A powerful navy to protect our merchantmen: and, above all, a constitution which affords men perfect security of person and property, and enables them to attend to their several pursuits at their ease.

The English government, moreover, has been very attentive to the interests of trade and manufactures in every age, as being one of the chief means of national prosperity and one of the grand sources of revenue.—The state pays, *directly*, greater attention to these objects than to agriculture, because they need it more. But here we may observe, that while it pays a direct attention to them, it *indirectly* promotes the interests of the farmer by adding to population, and consequently to consumption.

There has scarcely been a session of parliament, in the course of this period, when something has not been done for the benefit or encouragement of trade and manufactures. As the acts of the legislature, measures of government, and statements relating to them have little connection, they will be given in order of time, as they occur.

In 1758, “a petition was presented to parliament, for laying open our “ Turkey trade; representing, as a reason for it, the superiority which “ the French had gained in that trade.—Upon these considerations, the “ legislature passed an act for enlarging and regulating the trade to the “ Levant seas, by which it was laid open, as far as appeared compatible “ with the future advancement of it and the interests of those who employed their capitals in it.”

(1754). This year is memorable “for the establishment of a society, “ which does signal honour to its founders, for the advancement of arts, “ manufactures, and commerce. It was projected by Mr. Shipley, and “ was set on foot under the auspices of the lords Folkstone and Romney, “ and doctor Stephen Hales.—So generally was the design approved that, “ in a short time, above a thousand persons had become subscribers.— “ Premiums were immediately proposed to encourage improvements in “ the liberal and useful arts, and other things which were objects of the “ institution.

• Anderson.

" institution. It consists of a president, eight vice-presidents, a secretary, and a register annually elected."*

From a statement at this time † given of the Irish linen manufacture, it is seen to be declining, while that of Scotland is increasing; notwithstanding the former was encouraged by the royal bounty and parliamentary sanction; notwithstanding persons of the first distinction had been appointed trustees to direct the means for its improvement; and a linen hall had been erected at Dublin in 1750 for its advancement, which was well conducted.—The exports in 1758-9 were 14,093,431 yards, value £.989,562; and those of the ensuing year only 13,375,456 yards, value £.891,697.—The same statement sets forth " that the best arable land " in immense tracts are wantonly suffered to be enjoyed by the cattle " of a few petulant individuals, at the same time that their highways " and streets were crowded with shoals of mendicant fellow-creatures, " reduced, through want of proper sustenance, to the utmost distress."‡

It may be hoped that the union will gradually produce a remedy for these evils: that, when that kingdom shall be in a composed state, the comparative cheapness of provisions will induce English capitalists to establish manufactures in Ireland: that when fortunes shall be acquired by manufactures, the great non-resident proprietors will be tempted to dispose of their lands to smaller proprietors; who, being resident, may pay greater attention to their improvement.—This, we may suppose, was what the bishop of Landaff had in view when he prophesied, as the happy consequence of the union, that their bogs would be converted into well-cultivated lands.*

That government was not inattentive to the improvement of Ireland appears from a statement in Anderson's History of Commerce, by which it is seen that above £.80,000 was granted by the Irish house of commons in the year 1763 for the improvement of inland navigation and harbours, building bridges, and other public works.*—From the same it appears that the sum of £.3,735 had been expended in one year for the encouragement of the land-carriage fishery, carried on under the auspices of the patriotic Mr. Blake, its projector and indefatigable conductor.*

The

† In 1760.

* Anderson.

‡ Anderson. 3. 316.

* See 1800.

* Anderson. 4. 12.

The Scotch linen manufacture was at this time rapidly increasing. During the year 1759 there were stamped for sale, beside a very considerable quantity manufactured by private families for their own use, 10,830,707 yards, value £.451,390. And in the ensuing year 11,747,728 yards, value £.522,153.^b

In the year 1763 Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, who afterwards rendered his country such signal services by the number of hands and the great capital that he employed, and produced employment for, “invented a
“ species of earthen ware, for the table, quite new in its appearance,
“ covered with a rich and brilliant glaze, bearing sudden alterations of
“ heat and cold, manufactured with ease and expedition, and conse-
“ quently cheap; and having every requisite for the purpose intended.
“ To this new manufacture the queen was pleased to give her name and
“ patronage, commanding it to be called queen’s ware, and honouring
“ the inventor by appointing him her majesty’s potter.

“ To the same person we owe the invention of the following kinds
“ of earthen ware and porcelain, viz.

“ 1. A terra cotta, resembling porphery, granite, Egyptian pebble,
“ and other beautiful stones, of the ciliceous or crystalline order.

“ 2. Basaltes; a fine black porcelain bisqué, of nearly the same pro-
“ perties with the natural stone.

“ 3. White porcelain bisqué, of a smooth wax-like surface.

“ 4. Jasper; a white porcelain bisqué, of exquisite beauty and
“ delicacy.

“ 5. Bamboo, or cane-coloured bisqué porcelain, of the same nature
“ as number 3.

“ 6. A porcelain bisqué, remarkable for great hardness, little inferior
“ to that of agate.

“ These six distinct species, together with the queen’s ware already
“ mentioned, expanded into a thousand different forms, for ornament as
“ well as use, variously painted and embellished, constitute nearly the
“ whole of the present fine English earthen wares and porcelains, which
“ are now become the source of an immense trade; and which, considered

“ as

^b Anderson. 3. 321.

“ as an object of national industry and commerce, make one of the most
“ important manufactures of the kingdom.”

According to an account given by a French writer, the number of slaves bartered for in the year 1769 was 97,120: of which number 58,100 were sold to British merchants.

The following statements afford us a more pleasing subject of contemplation, and may be of service to give us an idea of the vast extent of our manufactures and commerce and the relative amount of the shipping employed in our trade to different parts.

From an account of the number of cloths milled in the West Riding of the county of York from the commencement of the act which related to the manufacture to the year 1771, it is seen that in the year 1726, the number of broad cloths were 26,671 and in 1737, 42,256.—In 1738, 42,404 broad cloths and 14,495 narrow.—In 1770 there were 2,717,105 yards of broad cloth, and 2,255,625, of narrow cloth manufactured.

A statement given of the Irish yarn and linen trade at the same time shews that in seventy years, from 1701 to 1771, it had increased from 39,000 yarn and 14,000 linen to 204 yarn and 1,691,000 linen.^d

A statement given at the same time of the British and Irish linens exported shews that in 1743, when the bounty commenced, there were exported 52,779 yards of British and 40,907 Irish, for which a bounty was paid of £.383. 10s. 8d. and that in 1771 it was increased to the vast amount of 4,411,040 yards of British and 3,450,224 yards of Irish, and the bounty £44,738. 8s. 10d.

Another statement shews that in 1727, 2,183,978 yards of Scotch linen were stamped, value £.103,312 and in 1768, 13,224,557 yards, value £.637,346.^e

Mr. Anderson gives the following account of the cast-plate glass manufactory established in Lancashire about the year 1773. “ An extensive
“ manufactory of this elegant and valuable branch of commerce, was first
“ established in Lancashire, about the year 1773, through the spirited exertions of a very respectable body of proprietors, who were incorporated
“ by

^c Anderson. 3. 699.

^d Idem. 147.

^e Idem. 4. 148.

“ by an act of parliament. From those various difficulties constantly attendant
 “ upon new undertakings, when they have to contend with powerful foreign
 “ establishments, it was for some time considerably embarrassed; but
 “ government, of late, having taken off some restrictions that bore hard
 “ upon it, and made some judicious regulations relative to the mode of
 “ levying the excise duty, it now bids fair to rival, if not surpass, the most
 “ celebrated continental manufactures, both with respect to the quality,
 “ brilliancy, and size of its productions.”

According to Mr. Burke's statement on his moving his conciliatory propositions, he made it appear, “ that the whole exports to North America,
 “ the West Indies, and Africa, in the year 1704, amounted only in value
 “ to £.569,930, and that in the year 1772, which was taken upon a
 “ medium, as being neither the highest nor the lowest of those which
 “ might have been applied to of late, the exports to the same places
 “ (including those from Scotland, which in 1704 had no existence)
 “ amounted to no less than £.6,024,171, being in the proportion of
 nearly eleven to one.

“ He also shewed, that the whole export trade of England, including
 “ that to the colonies, amounted at the first period of 1704, to no more
 “ than £.6,509,000. Thus the trade to the colonies alone, was, at the latter
 “ period, within less than half a million of being equal to what this great
 “ commercial nation carried on, at the beginning of the present century,
 “ with the whole world; and stating, as he did at this period, the whole
 “ commerce of this country at 16,000,000, that to the colonies, which
 “ in the first period constituted but one-twelfth of the whole, was now
 “ very considerably more than one-third.”

Upon a representation of the unhappy state of Ireland and the growing spirit of disaffection, measures were adopted by the government to remove the causes of discontent and improve the condition of the people by commercial privileges, || an account of which has been given in the history of the year 1779. We need only observe here that they had not the desired effect.—The evils were radical; they were of the greatest magnitude, and originated in many different causes: whereas the remedy was only palliative, and applied only to one.

The

|| In 1779.

f Anderson. 4. 184.

The attention of the nation and the legislature was now called to the new arrangement with the East India company.—For the debates on the plans proposed by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt and the subsequent events the reader is referred to the general history of 1783.

The Irish linen manufacture appears to have made a considerable progress during the last twenty-five years. The statement of the year 1783 is 15,212,968 yards exported to Great Britain: value £.1,014,197, and 826,737 yards, value £.55,115 of plain linen cloth and 166,127 yards of coloured linen, value £.13,151, exported to other countries.

The export of silk, and silk mixture, was as follows: 514lb. of ribbands.—3,329lb. of manufactured silk—309lb. of thrown silk—2,064lb. manufactured, mixed.

The total export of Ireland to England in one year, ending march twenty-fifth 1783, was £.1,865,392.—Total imports into Ireland was £.2,148,782.

Total exports of Ireland into Scotland £.123,897.—Total imports from Scotland £.171,670. *

(1784.) As an example of the rapid increase and flourishing state of the British manufactures, we may take that of various kinds of linens at Paisley, a town about fifteen miles west of Glasgow.—According to an account given this year to the trustees for fisheries and manufactures, that manufactory, which in 1744 produced 353,407 yards, value £.15,886, now produced 1,922,000 yards, value £.164,385. †

In the year 1784 an act was passed by the English parliament, of considerable importance in a financial as well as a commercial light, whereby a commutation was made of a part of the duty on tea for an additional tax on windows, in order to prevent smuggling.—An account of this has been given in the general history.

The discontent which prevailed in Ireland and the proceedings of the malecontents in that kingdom now claimed the chief regard of government.—The deliberations respecting the measures proper to be adopted to remedy the evils which gave rise to it make the most material part of the civil history of the year 1785, and have been already given in the general history.

Several

* Anderson. 4. 531.

† Idem. 702.

Several measures of great importance to the national trade and manufactures occur in the year 1786.

The first was a convention with the king of Spain, the chief object of which was to prevent disputes with that power by settling the boundaries between the Spanish dominions in America and the territories granted to the English for specific purposes.¹

A more important measure was the commercial treaty with France, by which it was hoped that such an advantageous intercourse would have been established between the two countries as would have been a cement of peace between them. But it has been seen that these hopes were soon blasted by the revolution which took place in France.

Another measure was an act passed (in consequence of a motion by Mr. Jenkinson, importing that improvements might be made in the British fisheries) for incorporating certain persons, by the name and style of "the British society for extending the fisheries and improving the sea coasts of the kingdom." By this act the persons so incorporated were empowered to subscribe a joint stock, and therewith to purchase lands, and build thereon free towns, villages and fishing stations in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.²

(1787.) The reader is referred to the general history for the *consolidating act*, for simplifying the mode of levying the duties, &c.

The progress of the calico and muslin manufactures in Great Britain has been rapid beyond example in the commercial history of the world.—According to Anderson "143 cotton mills are now built and in progress in Great Britain, of which nearly two-thirds have been erected within these five years. Besides these, there are above 20,500 hand-mills or jennies for spinning the shute for the twisted yarn spun by the water-mills.

"Above a million of money was within this time, sunk in mills, hand-engines, and other machines, including the grounds and necessary buildings.



"Expence

¹ Anderson. 4. 613.

² Idem. 4. 612. 30.

	£.
" Expende of water-mills,	715,000
" Ditto of hand jennies, houses, buildings, and auxiliary " machinery, supposed at least,	285,000
" Total,	<u>£1,000,000</u>

" A power is also created of working nearly two millions of spindles;
 " and men, women, and children are trained and training to this busi-
 " ness, capable of carrying the cotton manufacture almost to any extent.
 " The power of spindles now capable of being worked is estimated as
 " follows:

" In the water-mills,	286,000
" In the jennies, ..	1,665,100
" Total spindles,	<u>1,951,100</u>

" In the branches applicable to muslin and calico, it is calculated
 " that employment is given to 100,000 men and women, and at least
 " to 60,000 children; many of the latter having been taken from different
 " parishes and hospitals in Great Britain."¹

(1788.) Mr. Pitt, in his financial statement this year, among other enlarged sources of revenue, asserted that the Newfoundland fishery, which in 1773 and 74 produced only 516,000 quintals, in 1786 produced 732,000.—That in 1773 the tonnage of shipping employed in the Greenland fishery was 27,000, and in 1786, 53,000.—In 1773 the number of ships was 96, and in 1786 the number was increased to 153, and in 1787, with the reduced bounty, to 284.—The number of seamen in the last year he supposed to amount to 10,000.—The southern whale fishery, a branch of trade which had not been attended to by us till the beginning of the American war, was, he said, in a very flourishing state; having in 1787 employed 38 ships and produced £107,000."

This is a very satisfactory subject of reflection if considered as a most profitable mode of employing capital, as a means of creating wealth and producing

¹ Anderson. 3. 654.

" Anderson. 4. 689.

producing revenue: but, in a national view, it is still more so as a nursery for seamen.—By being continually in the practice of naval evolutions, they acquire an adroitness known to scarcely any other nations: and they increase their natural bravery by being continually exposed to danger.

Mr. Anderson has given the imports and exports of each year from the beginning of the eighteenth century.—The following amount of them every tenth year is sufficient to give the reader an idea of their increase.

YEARS.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	EXCESS.
In 1700	5,970,175	7,302,716	1,332,541
1710	4,011,341	6,690,828	2,679,487
1720	6,090,083	7,936,728	1,846,645
1730	7,780,019	11,974,135	4,194,116
1740	6,703,778	8,869,939	2,166,161
1750	7,772,039	15,132,004	7,359,964
1760	9,832,802	15,579,073	5,746,270
1770	12,216,937	14,266,653	2,049,716
1780	11,714,967	13,689,073	1,974,105
1787	17,804,024	18,296,166	492,141 ^a

(1788.) A bill was brought forward, this year, at the desire of the English woollen manufacturers, “for amending the existing laws against the private exportation of wool.”—It was grounded on the prejudice done them by the smuggling of wool to France: to prove which, it was asserted that 13,000 packs of wool were annually exported to that kingdom.—It was warmly opposed by the friends of the wool-growers, as a hardship done them, by depriving them of such an advantage, and subjecting them to vexatious restraints with respect to the sale of their wool. But the bill was passed by a majority of 112 to 47.^c

(1790.) The British trade and manufactures never were in so flourishing a state as at this period.—Of this we may form a judgment from the premier’s statement: that the exports of the last year were £18,513,000; surpassing by £3,000,000 the average of six years before the American war.^b—To this we may add a considerable increase of the home consumption.

(1792.)

^a Anderson. 4. 692.

^b Annual Register. 125.

^c Idem. 84.

(1792.) An attempt was made, this year, to enlarge our trade to China, by some commercial arrangements with that country. With that view lord Macartney was sent on an embassy to do honour to the emperor. But the jealousy which that monarch entertained of the Europeans rendered his mission fruitless.

(1798.) The inconvenience which commercial men began already to feel, and the still greater which they apprehended, from the war with France, was in some degree compensated by a commercial treaty at this time concluded with Russia, which promised great profit to this country.

The new act passed about the same time for renewing the charter of the East India company, and for regulating the government and trade in India, afforded much satisfaction to those who were interested in the company's concerns.^a

PUBLIC WORKS, CHARITABLE AND BENEFICENT FOUNDATIONS, &c.

(1756.) The *Marine Society*, an establishment of great public utility, was founded this year.—A number of public spirited merchants of the city of London, and others, formed themselves into a very laudable association, under the name of the Marine Society, and contributed considerable sums of money for equipping such orphans, friendless, and forlorn boys, as were willing to engage in the service of the navy. In consequence of this excellent plan, which was executed with equal zeal and discretion, many thousands were rescued from misery, and rendered useful members of that society, of which they must have been the bane and the reproach, without this humane interposition.^a

(1756.) This year the governors of the hospital established some years since for the maintenance and education of *foundlings*, or exposed or deserted children, were enabled by an act of parliament to receive all such children as should be brought to the hospital within the compass of one year.^a

(1758.) This year the asylum and Magdalen hospitals were established in the city of London, by a fund arising from charitable subscriptions.^a

(1758.) Milford Haven being the most spacious and commodious harbour

^a Ann. Regist. 119.

Smollet. 3. 477.

Idem. 4. 35.

Ann. Reg. 104.

harbour in the kingdom, it was proposed to make it fit for the reception of the royal navy.—Ten thousand pounds was now voted to begin the works for fortifying and securing it, and for purchasing the necessary lands.—Further sums were afterwards granted for the same purpose. But although the harbour was excellent in itself, it was found to be inconveniently situated: and therefore the intended improvements never were completed.

(1758.) A charitable marine society was, about this time, established at Glasgow, to provide for such seamen as shall become old or disabled in the service of the merchants of that city, and also to afford relief to their widows and children.*

(1760.)—(*Canal Navigation.*)—It is somewhat extraordinary, that, notwithstanding Lewis the Fourteenth had long since shewn the practicability of canal navigation under very difficult circumstances, by his grand work to connect the Garonne and the British Channel with the Mediterranean, his example had not been followed by the English till about this time.—The vast expence attending the execution of canals, and our insular situation, which facilitates the conveyance of goods from one part of the kingdom to another by sea, probably retarded this species of adventure. But the utility of inland navigation became more and more evident when a great number of new manufactures were established, the materials of which were to be conveyed from distant parts, when an increased population and the consequent increased consumption and high price of corn induced the proprietors of land to clear it of brakes and hedge-rows, and when, in consequence, coal became yearly more necessary to supply the place of wood.—These appear to have been the principal circumstances which led to the formation of canals.—But there is one advantage arising from them, in a national light, which deserves to be noticed—that it will render it less necessary for farmers to keep horses in the neighbourhood of canals; and that when horses shall be rendered unnecessary to draw their corn to market, the consequence will, probably, be, that oxen will be more generally used for tillage, and that thus a larger and more regular supply will be provided for the grazier.

The subsistence of oxen for the tillage of any given number of acres being produced from a much smaller quantity of land than that of horses for

* Anderson, 3. 305.

† Annual Register, 95.

for the same, the saving of *corn*, or rather of *subsistence* in the aggregate, by that mean will be another public benefit arising from inland navigation; to which we may add the still greater saving in the consumption of those horses which would otherwise be employed for the conveyance of coal and other articles from one part of the kingdom to another.—These observations may serve to remove the unpleasant feelings of those who are hurt at seeing so great a quantity of land apparently wasted in the formation of canals.

The first canal deserving of notice in Great Britain, was that undertaken, in the year 1760, by the duke of Bridgewater, for the conveyance of coal from his estate at Worsley to Manchester, from which it was distant about seven miles. Though the extent was so small, great difficulties presented themselves in forming the canal, from natural obstructions. But these gave way to the ingenuity and indefatigable industry of James Brindley, the duke's engineer, who left a most honourable memorial of his genius in the aqueducts and the works of various kinds constructed by him in the progress of the undertaking.—This canal was afterwards carried to the Mersey,† and, by its junction with that river, made a navigable communication between Manchester and Liverpool.—After that, it was extended southward, through Staffordshire, to the Trent.‡ This canal is called the *grand trunk*; from the number of ramifications which, it was supposed, would be branched out from it. It is seventy miles in extent, and has a tunnel of 2,880 yards under Harecastle Hill.—The first of these branches was carried to Birmingham, and thence, through Warwickshire and Oxfordshire to the Isis: another was carried eastward to Grantham in Lincolnshire.—Another through Northamptonshire, Bucks, and Hertfordshire, to the Thames at Uxbridge, called, from its effect in making a communication between the northern and southern counties, *the grand junction*.

In the mean-time, other canals had been formed in different parts. The chief of these are that to connect the Severn and the Isis: that between Leeds and Liverpool: || several which form communications between the different manufacturing towns in the north; one of which extends, through almost the whole county of Lancashire, to Kendall in Westmoreland.—Another, of great public utility, is completed between the Clyde and the Firth of Forth.†—In 1792 an act was passed for a canal to connect the
Avon

† In 1762.

‡ 1766 to 1777.

|| The act passed in 1770.

† The act passed in 1768.

Avon at Bath with the Kennet at Newbury; and, soon after, another to connect the same river, by a branch from that canal, with the Isis at Abingdon. These, when finished, will complete the navigable communication between the north and south and the east and west, as far as Bristol.

Whilst these works had been carried on in Great Britain, the Irish nation had been actuated by the same spirit of adventure. So early as the year 1762, a work upon a grand scale was undertaken to form a communication between Dublin and the Shannon, by that means to avoid the dangerous passage by sea from that city to the north-western parts of Ireland.

(1765.) Much inconvenience having been experienced by the citizens of London from the distance between Westminster and London bridges, an act was passed about this time for building one about the midway between them. A very elegant structure was, in consequence, erected, which forms a communication between fleet-street and the opposite side of the Thames.⁷

(1774.) Among public works, and the measures of government relative to them, may not improperly be introduced an act passed at this time to remedy the inconveniences arising from the slightness of the buildings in the metropolis. This act prescribes the different thickness of the walls of buildings of different descriptions; each story being ordered to be built of a certain thickness, according to the height and extent of the building.—It also made regulations of various kinds to prevent nuisances and danger from carrying on certain trades and manufactures in the city; and prescribed the manner in which redress of grievances should be obtained and the offenders against the act punished.⁸

HOLLAND.

⁷ Annual Register. 1796. 149.

⁸ Williams's Digest.

HOLLAND.

THE Dutch provinces, or Batavia, are stated by Zimmermann to be only 10,000 square miles in extent: and in that small extent they have a population of 2,360,000 persons, or 236 to a square mile.

This republic may be said to have been founded by industry on the basis of liberty.—The nature of their country, a great part of which is gained from the sea, appears to have concurred with climate and political circumstances to form the national character. Civil and religious liberty occasioned an abundant population; and industry and perseverance in commercial enterprise maintained it. Without continual exertion they could neither have excluded the ocean, nor have subsisted themselves, nor have maintained their independency of Spain.

For some ages, when commerce was less attended to by other nations, they were the common carriers of Europe.—Their East India trade is said to produce an annual profit of 12,700,000 florins, beside that of the trade to Japan, which is computed at 20,000 florins. They have moreover, a great trade to the West Indies, to the Baltic, and to other parts.

Their fisheries are another great source of wealth. The whale fishery, though much declined, employs one hundred vessels, and their cod fishery an hundred and forty.

Their soil, by continual labour and skilful cultivation, they render very productive. Among other articles of product is madder, of which the island of Schouwen alone is said to have produced 2,000,000lb.—The
English

English have taken £.300,000 of this article, used for dying red colours, in one year.

Such is the effect of industry in overcoming difficulties, that we find an infinite number of rich manufactures established in this country, where there are comparatively few materials produced.—It is remarked by the author before cited that there are numberless artists employed in metals, where there is no mine, and thousands of saw-mills, where there is scarce any forest.—He informs us likewise that there are at Saardam nine hundred windmills, some used for grinding corn, others for sawing timber, and others for making paper.—Such was the wealth arising from all these sources, that we are informed upon the same authority, that the revenue of the seven provinces when he wrote † amounted to more than 45,000,000 florins, nearly £.4,500,000.*

A new constitution was framed, as we have already seen, in the year 1801. But the future destiny of the provinces appears to be yet uncertain. The opposition of the Louvestein party to the power of the prince of Orange, and their jealousy of Great Britain and Prussia as his partisans, threw them into the hands of France, and they are at present at the devotion of that state.

FRANCE.

† In 1785.

* Zimmermann, 168.

FRANCE.

DOMESTIC GOVERNMENT.

THE ancient monarchy of France being entirely subverted, we feel but little concern about the establishments or the measures of domestic government which immediately preceded the revolution, except such as enable us to judge of the merits of those persons whose fortunes were involved in it.

To those who are desirous of knowing the sentiments of men of judgment respecting the state of Europe before it took place, of knowing whether there were any symptoms from which it might have been presaged, the following will be interesting.—Six years only before that event, we find baron de Hertzberg, minister of state to the great Frederic, and his confidant, thus addressing the academy of Berlin, of which he was president, upon the happy state of Germany and of Europe. After doing honour to the German people, to whose valour and energy chiefly he ascribed it that their country had never been conquered, nor had ever undergone those revolutions which had happened in other states, and saying that the preservation of the Germanic system was essential to the well-being of Europe, he proceeds thus: “ the German empire, “ situated in the centre of Europe, seems designed by nature to hold the “ balance in this quarter of the world, to prevent the equilibrium from “ being destroyed among the other powers, or any such revolution from “ taking place as might endanger the general safety and independency.— “ If Germany, on the contrary, were governed by one despotic and ambitious

" bitious sovereign, it would not be impossible for him, at the head of a
 " warlike nation, the most numerous of any in Europe, to extend his
 " power on various sides, and, under cover of plausible pretensions, to
 " destroy the balance of power himself, and effect great revolutions.—
 " Happily for the general welfare, we may hope that this case never will
 " again take place, and that no revolutions are now to be apprehended,
 " either in the Germanic empire, or in the rest of Europe, since the Ger-
 " manic body has been so well established by internal laws, by treaties with
 " foreign powers, by its various guarantees, and perhaps still more by the
 " happy and well proportioned distribution of power and force of its
 " different members, and since all the powers of Europe have, after the
 " example of our sovereign, formed well-trained and disciplined standing
 " armies, which, although maintained at the expence of the several nations,
 " secure them from the far greater evil of those wars by which the finest
 " countries have been desolated. Those great revolutions, therefore,
 " *are no more to be feared, but by nations at a distance from Europe, or*
 " *such as do not know how to govern or to defend themselves.* History will
 " never be again rendered interesting by the brilliant but afflicting re-
 " presentations of revolutions, conquests, battles, and those which are
 " improperly termed great events. Sovereigns can never again immor-
 " talize their names and their reigns but by encouraging agriculture and
 " commerce, and promoting the prosperity of their subjects: but they
 " will, by these means, attain that fame which is more permanent and
 " honourable than the most memorable conquests."*

Such were the sentiments of an intelligent statesman upon the general
 state of things, such were the halcyon days which he prognosticated,
 when the volcano was ready to burst which was to shake all Europe, to
 deprive the German emperor and states of a great part of that weight on
 which he felicitated them, which enabled them to hold the balance of
 Europe; at the eve of a revolution and war which have raised France to a
 greater degree of power than that which would have been possessed by a
 sole monarch of Germany, and which he deprecated as what would be
 fatal to the general peace and independency.

If it be asked, what concern we have with these flattering presages
 which

* Dissert. sur les Revolutions des Etats. 128.

which have not been verified, an answer may easily be given: that every existing state may be admonished by them of the expediency of being constantly upon its guard against revolutions, even in times of the greatest apparent security; and especially in an age when science, by opening the minds of men, renders them more sensible of defects.

We have every reason to suppose, that, notwithstanding there were many men of republican principles in France before the revolution, they were not sufficiently numerous, nor of sufficient weight, to have effected their purpose, had not a sense of false security made the partisans of the old *regime* inattentive to the proper precautions to avert the evil; had they not rendered the assembling of the states-general absolutely necessary by the state embarrassment occasioned by their extravagance, their injudicious measures, and bad management; had the government been well administered; had proper financial regulations been adopted, and gross abuses been corrected. Disgusted by these and encouraged by the advocates of freedom, the nation, who had before been fond admirers of the parade of royalty, were seized with a delirious passion for liberty. With that warmth which marks their character, they passed from an ardent love of monarchy to the contrary extreme of democracy; and, becoming the dupes of the knavery of their demagogues and their own passions, they were guilty of a thousand enormities in the accomplishment of their purposes.

From these remarks the transition is easy to the measures adopted for the public good by a sovereign who would have saved the monarchy from ruin had he possessed firmness equal to his benevolence and his patriotism.

The first year of Lewis the Sixteenth's reign was memorable for the regulations made respecting the collection of the *taille*, or land-tax; by which the farmers were relieved from the oppression which they had before suffered; and for the abolition of the *corvees*, for the army and the repair of roads.^b

In order to increase the product of grain and the farmer's profit, freedom was given to the commerce of grain within the kingdom by another regulation adopted at this time.[†]

To

† In 1775.

^b Vide de Turgot. 80. 94.

To exonerate the public by reducing the expenditure, Lewis, by advice of the count de St. Germain, disbanded the parade corps, called the musquetaires.—He, at the same time, did honour to himself by readily adopting Turgot's plans for reviving public credit by a punctual discharge of the obligations of government, and for increasing the national wealth and the public revenue, without laying additional burthens on the people, by the advancement of manufactures and commerce.

The prosecution of these salutary measures was abruptly interrupted by a change of ministry, which must be considered as fatal in its effects to the French monarchy; there being but little doubt, but the reforms now adopted would have given it new life and vigour, and have placed it on a firm basis.—There is, however, one act of state, at a subsequent period which is well deserving our notice—that was the abolition of the inhuman practice of *putting the question by torture*.—This was accompanied with a measure, adopted under the administration of Necker, by which no less than 406 useless appointments were abolished.†—These were sufficient testimonies of the beneficent intentions of Lewis the Sixteenth; and will be recollected with pleasure by those who respect the virtues and pity the fate of that unfortunate monarch.

SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

We are more interested in the progress and state of literature and science in France, during this period, on account of the influence which they had on the public opinion relative to matters of government, and their consequent effect in bringing about the revolution.

The French monarchs were among the first in Europe who courted fame by the patronage of letters, science, and the fine arts: they were gratified by observing the progress made by men of genius in every branch of these under their auspices: and had they, whilst they encouraged them by their munificence, prepared for the effects which might reasonably have been expected to result from them, had they made such wise and salutary regulations in their government that it might have borne the light, might have

† In 1780.

° Annual Register. 1781. 12.

have challenged investigation, they would have acted consistently.—Confident in their power and insensible of danger, they neglected to use these precautions: and the light which they were themselves instrumental in introducing rendered the blemishes in their system and the abuses in their administration more observable.—Such was the state of things at that important epoch in the domestic history of France when the encyclopedists associated themselves for the purpose of dispersing knowledge. Unfortunately for the peace of the world, when these academicians, some of whom were men of republican principles and others advocates of reform, observed that the public mind was soured by oppressive taxes and the arbitrary measures of government, they availed themselves of it to blend with their philosophy sentiments which were hostile to the existing system.

The result having been already seen in the French history, we may now proceed to take notice of some measures for the national improvement under the republican government.

The most memorable of these was the *national institute*.—When a government was settled, in 1795, which promised the nation more tranquillity than had been enjoyed since the revolution, that they might replace the establishments which had been formed for the encouragement of arts and sciences under the monarchy, and the muses might return to their former seat, the directory established this institute, consisting of an hundred and forty-four members, which should embrace the whole circle of useful and ornamental knowledge. Apartments were assigned the society in the palace of the louvre.—Moreover, to forward the diffusion of knowledge, an academy was established in each department of the republican dominions, for the instruction of youth in languages, polite literature, and philosophy, with proper salaries for the professors.^d

Beside this institute for the improvement of arts and sciences in general, a society was established at Paris, about the same time, for the express purpose of encouraging and promoting improvements in agriculture in particular.^e

VOYAGES.

^d Ann. Regist. 1795. 127.

^e Annals of Public Economy. 1. 25.

VOYAGES.

We find the French government rivalling that of Great Britain during this period in its voyages of discovery.—In 1766, monsieur de Bougainville was employed by his christian majesty to make a formal surrender of the Falkland or Malouine islands to Spain, in the name of his sovereign, who was one of the claimants of them.—When he had discharged his commission, he passed the straits of Magellan, and proceeded on his voyage to Otaheite, the inhabitants of which he particularly describes.—After visiting some of the other islands in the south seas, he steered for the islands on the Asiatic coast, and, having made his researches in these, he returned, by the Cape of Good Hope, to France, in 1769.

The reign of Lewis the Sixteenth was rendered memorable by one of the most important voyages undertaken by the French or any other nation, whether we respect the extent or the objects of it.—The person chosen to conduct it was monsieur de la Perouse, an officer of distinguished merit and nautical skill.

Particular instructions were given him, by his majesty, before his departure, respecting the course which he was to take, the commercial and political objects which he was to have in view, respecting what was expected of the men of science who were to attend him, in their respective departments as astronomers, geographers, and naturalists; respecting his conduct towards the natives of the several countries which he was to visit, and the precautions to be adopted by him for preserving the health of his crews.

Having received his instructions, he sailed from Brest in august 1785.^a—Agreeably with the plan of his voyage, he steered to the eastern coast of South America, and doubled Cape Horn. Then, taking a northern course, he surveyed the western coast of America as far as Easter Island, in lat. 27, where he left the coast and visited Sandwich Islands.^b—When he had made his surveys of them, he returned to the American coast, and surveyed a part of it which had not been attended to by captain Cook, beginning with Cape St. Elias, lat. 60.—Thence he sailed by a southern course

^a Perouse's Voyages. 1. 62.^c Idem. 55.^b Idem. 2. 46.

course to Macao, in the province of Canton.¹—After visiting the Philippines and several islands off the coast of China, he passed to that of Tartary; and when he had surveyed it, he steered his course, through the Kurile islands, to Kamtschatka.—When he had finished his researches in those parts, he took a southern course; and, crossing the line, after visiting several islands on the south of the equator, he proceeded to Botany Bay, in New Holland; where he arrived, January 23d, 1768.²

It appears from his instructions and from his letters, that he was afterwards to have explored the regions nearest the south pole. But, unfortunately, his ship was never heard of after its departure from Botany Bay, where his last letter was dated.¹

POPULATION.

According to the chevalier Tinceau's statistical view of France, compiled from authentic documents drawn up in the tenth year of the republic, under the direction of Abrial, minister of justice, "the whole population of France was then 33,104,343 persons, over an extent of 186,600 square miles, or 178 to a square mile.—According to him, the population of France as it was before the revolution, was 27,989,994 persons over 161,810 square miles, or 172 persons to a square mile: and that of the conquered countries 5,114,419 persons, over 23,790 square miles, or 215 to a square mile."—Of this population that of Paris is reckoned at 546,856 persons, and that of Lyons 109,600.

REVENUE.

According to Tinceau, the revenue of France is as follows:

Land tax,	210,000,000	livres.
Tax on persons,	32,000,000	ditto.
Ditto house and windows,	17,600,000	ditto.
Patentees' tax,	21,845,425	ditto.
Additional centimes,	28,720,000	ditto.
Total,	320,165,425	livres.

To

¹ Pérouse. 2. 60. 188. 270. ² Idem. 2. 465. ¹ Idem. 3. 154. 418. ² Preface. 7.
² Tinceau's Tables. 174.

To this is to be added the revenue of the department of Piedmont which amounts to 14,058,289 livres.*

We find, in a recent treatise of monsieur Necker on the political state of France some remarks on the subject of finance very deserving our notice.—After stating that the present revenue far exceeds that of the French crown in 1781, when he gave his *compte rendu*, and that the public debt was far less; after remarking that the present government has, moreover, the advantage of being freed from the embarrassments which the old government experienced from the privileges of the nobles, the clergy, and the provinces, he goes on to inquire from what causes it arises that the funds have not risen in a manner that might have been expected from these circumstances.—The answer is obvious, viz. the want of public confidence. But whence has this arisen?—The foundation of public confidence and public credit, says he, is the stability of the governing power, and that stability *unaccompanied* with arbitrary authority.—The old monarchy enjoyed the advantage arising from the idea of stability; for few men were apprehensive of its fall. But it was deprived of the public confidence by the arbitrary authority with which it was invested, and the use it had made of it.

He then proceeds to say, “ that the best support of public credit is a government judiciously framed, a government regulated by constitutional laws, which no force can disturb, and which employs the supreme authority as an useful instrument, and not as arbitrary power. A perfect government, with respect to public credit, would be that which should render almost indifferent, so far as concerns the security of the public debt, the character of the prince, and even of the minister who has the management of the finances.—A model of such a government is presented to us in that of Great Britain.

“ Let us,” says he, “ in support of this position, advert to certain circumstances.—A much beloved and much esteemed sovereign, who had been on the throne twenty-eight years, is attacked with a malady which gave the public reason to believe that a regency would be necessary. The public funds are not affected by it.—A prime minister, who had presided in the department of finance twenty years, and who had gained

“ a great

* Tinceau's Tables.

“ a great name in Europe by his talents, demands his dismissal: he demands
 “ and obtains it in the midst of a war, and when the public debt and the
 “ national burthens are carried to an unexampled height. Still the public
 “ funds are not affected by it.—It is not known, at the moment when
 “ he quitted the administration, who would succeed him, and yet the
 “ funds experience no depression.—A peace is concluded upon terms
 “ which evince to all Europe the ascendancy of the first consul. He
 “ obliges Great Britain to surrender those conquests which he could not
 “ wrest from her, and only gives her time for surrendering others. And
 “ yet, after such a peace, it is in France that the funds are stationary, while
 “ in England they experience a rise of ten per cent: and government,
 “ at the same instant, borrows 600,000,000 livres at four per cent, and
 “ grants to the bank a new adjournment for making its disbursement in
 “ specie.—Can any thing relating to finance and public credit be more
 “ remarkable?—It is the highest degree of perfection in its kind. It is
 “ that perfection which can be attained only by means of a government of
 “ whose stability there is no doubt, and which, in all the engagements that
 “ are capable of being ascertained by law, has the security of the here-
 “ ditary and elective representatives of the nation, and which leaves no
 “ essential interest to the will or disposal of a single person.”¹—Monsieur
 Necker then goes on to prove, upon the same principles, why the French
 funds have not risen in proportion to the advantages which the state pos-
 sesses, viz. the want of a government which enjoys the national confidence,
 unaccompanied with arbitrary power.—The writer was induced to give so
 long an extract by the pleasure in which he supposes his reader will partake
 with him from such a testimony borne by a foreigner to the excellence
 of our constitution.

SPAIN!

¹ Dernieres Vues de Politique. 272.

SPAIN.

CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE.

HAD it been possible to rouse the Spaniards from that state of torpor, from those habits of indolence, which a relaxing climate and the chill hand of temporal and spiritual tyranny had induced, the events of this period must have had that effect.—The Spaniards do not appear at any period to have been morally depraved. The pride, by which they have ever been distinguished, makes them, on the one hand, disdain what is dishonest, whilst, on the other, it concurs with many other causes to make them inactive and indolent.—“The Spaniards,” says Montesquieu, “have been in all ages famous for their honesty. Justin mentions their fidelity in keeping what was intrusted to their care: they have frequently suffered death rather than reveal a secret. They have still,” says he, “the same fidelity for which they were formerly distinguished. All the nations who trade to Cadiz trust their fortunes to the Spaniards, and have never yet repented of it. But this admirable quality, joined to their indolence, forms a mixture, from which effects result which are most pernicious to them.”*

With these excellent qualities, the body of the people were become inattentive to public affairs from the danger attending a free discussion of them, and from habits of submission to a despotic government. And the government itself was too poor and spiritless for any lasting exertion, and too depraved to resist the means which a successful enemy had it in his

* Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, 3. 325.

his power to employ to fix them in his interests.—From these circumstances in the condition of the Spanish state and nation we may account for the conduct of this crown in the late contest.

VOYAGES.

The Spanish court was not totally unmoved by that spirit of investigation, and emulation of eminence in whatever constitutes national greatness, which actuated the chief powers of Europe in this age.—Within a few years preceding 1780 three expeditions were undertaken by order of the Spanish government, for examining the western coasts of North America. And in 1780 a voyage of discovery was made in the seas between Manilla and the Mexican coast.^b But the discoveries made in these are not of sufficient importance to merit a particular account in this sketch.

POPULATION.

The population of Spain, according to Zimmermann, is 10,500,000 persons, upon 148,448 square miles, or seventy to a mile.—Of this population that of Madrid is 140,000, and Seville and Cadiz each 80,000.

REVENUE.

The system of finance in this state is so complicated, and the revenue has fluctuated so much, from various causes, but especially from the merit or demerit of the ministers of finance, that it is almost impossible to speak with precision concerning it.—It is satisfactory, in such a matter, to find two authors whose representations correspond.—Zimmermann, who wrote in 1786, says “that the king’s revenue from Old Spain amounts to “ 5,000,000 sterling.”—Mr. Townsend, after giving a history of the finances of this kingdom, and doing honour to the president Orry, minister of finance to Philip the Fifth, who, according to Busching, raised the revenue, from 8,000,000 livres, to 42,000,000 of escudos de vellon,

^b Perouse’s Voyage. 1. 340. 418.

^c Zimmermann. 299.

vellon,⁴ about £5,000,000, proceeds to say "that the last statement of Mr. Eden (which was after he quitted Spain in 1787) was five millions sterling."

The abbé Raynal particularized the sources of revenue in the Spanish colonies, and closes his account by saying, "that the court of Madrid draws annually 55,084,450 livres from its provinces in the new world;" but he adds, "that a part of this revenue is employed in the Spanish islands in America, for the expence of sovereignty, and for the building of ships, or for the purchasing of tobacco."

ARMY.

Zimmermann says that in 1788 the Spanish army was from sixty to seventy thousand men, besides twenty thousand militia, according to the *Bibliothèque militaire*. But he subjoins, that, according to others, "the regular troops do not actually exceed fifty thousand men; and that more recent accounts reduce the army to only twenty thousand effective men.—The army establishment, as published in 1776, amounted to one hundred and thirty-two thousand seven hundred and thirty men, on the lists."—Of these twenty-nine thousand were militia and fifteen thousand invalids and militia of the towns. The cavalry were thirteen thousand two hundred, and the artillery three thousand three hundred and fifty-five.⁵—According to Busching, the whole army amounted at the time when he wrote,[†] to ninety-six thousand five hundred and ninety-seven men.—This difference arises, probably, from the difference between nominal and effective men.

NAVY.

Busching states the Spanish navy at twenty-six men of war, thirteen frigates, two packet-boats, eight chebecks, and four bomb-ketches: and the compliment of men at 19,104.—Zimmermann states it, in 1778, at one

[†] In 1762.

⁴ An escudos de vellon, according to Beawes, is about two shillings and two-pence halfpenny.

⁵ Tour through Spain. 2. 166. 88. Busching. 2. 162.

[†] Raynal. 4. 291.

⁶ Zimmermann. 318.

one hundred and forty-four ships of all sorts. And adds, that in 1784, which was soon after the close of the war with England, "there were" said to be sixty-two ships of the line, from 120 to 64 guns.—He states the naval forces, in 1783, at "three companies of guardias marinas" and twelve battalions of marinas, both together 5,712 men; a naval "artillery corps of 2,000 men, a corps of naval engineers, and a corps of "pilots."—The abbé Raynal states the navy, when he wrote, at sixty-eight ships of the line, of 114 to 60 guns, and eighty-eight from 56 to 12 guns; and says that there are 50,000 seamen upon its lists.—These different accounts may be reconciled by supposing that they refer to periods of peace and war.

SCIENCES AND LIBERAL ARTS.

That the Spaniards are not deficient in genius for the sciences and the fine arts is evident from their celebrity in certain ages, when the system of government was more propitious to them, and when they were less encouraged and less cultivated in other countries.—The sciences, it is well known, flourished during several ages in Spain.—And Mr. Cumberland, in his elegant little work on the state of the liberal arts in this kingdom, has proved that, under great disadvantages, Spain has produced many excellent painters.—And in the path of wit, and humour, and invention, and knowledge of human nature, Cervantes is himself an host. But despotism and superstition, besides the palpable bars which they present to every kind of intellectual improvement, operate insensibly in repressing genius by cramping every faculty and restraining every energy of the mind. Hence we may account for it, that the arts and sciences are not at present in a flourishing state in Spain.

AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, AND COMMERCE.

A few facts may serve to evince the fatal influence which agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, have experienced from a despotic government, from spiritual tyranny, from the vast possessions of the grandees and

¹ Zimmermann. 319.

¹ Raynal. 4. 356.

and ecclesiastics, and from a false pride, which teaches men of rank and opulence that it is disgraceful to pay a personal attention to the improvement of their property in either of these lines.*

One of these facts is the low state of population in Spain, compared with other countries under circumstances not more favourable.—That of Spain, it has been seen, is only seventy persons to a square mile, whilst that of England and Wales is eighty-six.

Another fact is the low state of their manufactures.—In 1762 the silk raised in Valencia amounted to 1,150,000lb. in Murcia to 400,000lb, in Arragon to 170,000lb, and in Granada to 100,000lb. “And yet,” says Zimmermann, “of 70,000 looms which Spain formerly had, Uslatiz found only 10,000 remaining in 1724. Since that time, however, their number has again increased.” And, according to a citation of Anderson from the same Spanish writer on commerce, who published in 1753, they had projected a great extension of that branch of manufacture.

Cotton is another considerable production of this kingdom. Valencia alone, in a favourable year, produces 120,500lb. But the greatest part of it is exported raw.—The same is observable in the export of wool.—To these particular articles we may add the general amount of the exports. In a kingdom where, beside those before mentioned, there are many other very profitable natural products for which they find a certain market in the neighbouring countries, such as wine, oil, rice, flax, and fruit of various kinds, the total amount of exports was estimated at 80,000,000 livres only, about £3,333,330, while that of Great Britain amounts to above twenty millions sterling.”

Another

* The abbé Raynal speaks with his characteristic acuteness of observation upon this subject. “Their idleness,” says he, “proceeds in some degree from foolish pride. Because the nobility were unemployed, the people imagined it was a mark of nobility to do nothing. They all wanted to enjoy the same prerogative; and the starved, half-naked Spaniard, carelessly sitting on the ground, looks with pity on his neighbours, who are well clothed, live well, work, and laugh at his folly. The one, from a motive of pride, despises the conveniences of life; while the other, from a principle of vanity, endeavours to acquire them. The climate had made the Spaniard abstemious, and indigence hath rendered him more so. The monkish spirit, to which he hath long been subject, makes him consider poverty, which is occasioned by his vices, as a virtue. As he hath no property, he covets none; but his aversion for labour is greater still than his contempt for riches.”—*Raynal's East and West India Settlements*. 4. 319.

‡ Zimmermann. 308. † Anderson. 3. 289. “ Zimmermann. 309. “ Idem. 304.

Another fact is supplied by the state of agriculture; and this is exemplified in the constraint under which the proprietors are laid by the government respecting the celebrated Merino flocks, and also by the privileges which the proprietors themselves enjoy with respect to pasturage on their periodical removal from the vales to the mountains. "One of the greatest obstacles to agriculture in this kingdom," says Zimmermann, "is the breeding very large flocks of sheep, the value of which is estimated in Spain at 30,000,000 livres. They take up too great an extent of ground for their subsistence, to the prejudice of agriculture and population. The number of those sheep whose wool is of the finest sort, is estimated at 5,000,000; the profits arising from them amount annually to 8,500,000 livres, of which 2,200,000 are paid to the king, 5,600,000 must be deducted for the necessary expences, and only 700,000 livres are the clear benefit of the proprietors. Of this fine wool 40,000 cwt. is annually sent off to London and Bristol about the same quantity to Rouen; 20,000 cwt. to Amsterdam, of which only 6,000 cwt. remain in Holland; the rest is exported chiefly to different parts of Germany."*

These facts sufficiently prove how incompatible a despotic government is with national industry, with a prosperous trade, and improvements in agriculture and manufactures.

From

* Mr. Townsend gives the following account of these flocks. "The numbers of the Merino sheep are continually varying. Cajaleruela, who wrote A. D. 1627, complained that they were reduced from seven millions to two millions and an half. Ustariz reckoned in his time four millions; but now they are near five. The proprietors are numerous, some having only three or four thousand, while others have ten times that number. The duke of Infantado has forty thousand. Each proprietor has a mayoral or chief shepherd, to whom he allows annually one hundred doblons, or £.75, and a horse; and for every flock of two hundred sheep, a separate shepherd, who is paid according to his merit, from eight shillings a month to thirty, besides two pounds of bread a day for himself, and as much for his dog, with the privilege of keeping a few goats on his own account.

"The produce of wool is reckoned to be about five pounds from every ewe, and eight from the wethers; and to shear eight of the former, or five of the latter, is reckoned a good day's work. Some, indeed, allow twelve sheep to every shearer; but even this comes short of what we do in England, where a common hand will dispatch sixty in a day, and a good workman has been known to finish half as many more.

"The wool of the Merino sheep is worth little less than twelve pence a pound, whilst that of the stationary flocks sells for only sixpence; and every sheep is reckoned to yield a clear profit of ten-pence to the proprietor, after all expences are discharged."—*Tour through Spain*, 2. 62.

° Zimmermann's Political Survey. 305.

From this cause, assisted by the influence of climate and the ill effects arising from the fallacious idea of wealth impressed on the state and nation by the discovery of the mines of Mexico and Peru, it appears chiefly to have arisen, that Spain, with a fertile soil, with an extensive coast, with navigable rivers branching into every province, and a most advantageous situation for foreign trade, has remained half-peopled, and her subjects half-starved and half-naked: whilst in other countries the spirit of industry which freedom inspires has compensated for the want of these natural advantages. In Switzerland, for example, before the revolution, every foot of land was cultivated; the sides of rocks apparently almost inaccessible were decorated with gardens and vineyards, and every natural product of the country was turned to the greatest possible benefit by the hand of industry.—Such was the natural result of the circumstances of the Spanish nation. Such an ill-constituted state, in which there are not the proper motives of action and rewards of merit, becomes a system of alternate vexation and oppression, in which each member contributes to the general misery.

*Half-starved spiders feed on half-starved flies.**

Whereas in a well-constituted society each member, being properly employed and remunerated, necessarily concurs in promoting the general prosperity.—There were, however, some efforts made by the government and public-spirited individuals to promote trade and to encourage improvements in

* This wretchedness of the Spanish nation Mr. Townsend thus describes. "The country was not in a condition to be taxed. Rich in mines, but poor in money; exhausted by continued wars in Italy, in Flanders, and by emigrations to America; wanting, at the same time, every encouragement to industry at home; wretchedness so universally prevailed, that doctor Moncada, in the year 1660, reckoned more than three millions in Spain who wore no shirts, because they could not afford to purchase linen. Money was at that period lent commonly for twenty, and even thirty per cent. Such was the state of their finance in the reign of Philip the Fourth. His successor, Charles the Second, who died at the end of the seventeenth century, was once reduced to such distress, that, as appears by a letter to be seen in his own hand writing, he solicited money from the council of Castille to pay the expences of his removal with his court to Aranguez, where he was going for his health: the council answered, that, if upon examination, there was no other way to restore his health, they would grant the money."—*Tour through Spain*, 2. 165.

• Churchill's Poems.

in husbandry. In 1765 a society was established at Corunna in Galicia, for the encouragement of agricultural improvements.—And in 1776 a national institution was founded by his majesty and the grandees, under the denomination of *Friends of their Country*, for the encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, and trade.—The king, in the mean-time, endeavoured to people the uninhabited districts in the Sierra Morena by inviting settlers from other countries; and he promoted the trade of his subjects by his patronage of the new East India company established in 1786.

These wise and patriotic measures appear already to have had some effect. “From the manufactures of Grenada, Malaga, Seville, Toledo, Talavera, and especially of Valencia,” says the abbé Raynal, “silks are produced which are in some repute, and which deserve it. The manufactures of St. Ildefonso furnish very beautiful mirrors; those of Guadaxara and Escaray supply cloths; and those of Madrid, hats, ribbands, tapestry, and porcelain. All Catalonia is filled with manufactures of arms and toys, of silk stockings and handkerchiefs, of printed cotton, of common woollen goods, and of gold and silver and other lace.”¹

A strong appearance of reviving commerce is seen in the canals forming in different parts of the kingdom.—Mr. Townsend, in his Tour through Spain, gives a particular account of the canal of Arragon, to form a communication between the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean, with the assistance of the Ebro, which flows through almost the whole breadth of the kingdom.—He also describes the canal of Castille as a work which promises to recover the trade and importance of the ancient city of Valladolid.²

Enough appears to have been done, and sufficient effect to have been produced, to prove the practicability of reinstating this kingdom in her due weight among the powers of Europe by the application of proper means.

PORTUGAL.

¹ Abbé Raynal. 4. 316.

² Tour through Spain. 3. 210. 364.

PORTUGAL.

NATIONAL CHARACTER.

IT is a general observation, that the character of the Portuguese bears a strong resemblance to that of the Spaniards, but that the bad qualities of the latter prevail in them.—Dumouriez, whose residence in the country gave him opportunities of making observations and whose discernment enabled him to observe with discrimination, represents them as having the same general characteristics, resembling that of the Spaniards; but these blended with others which give the Portuguese themselves a character distinctly different in different parts of the kingdom. “The character of the Portuguese,” says he, “bears a strong resemblance to that of the Spaniards; they possess the same disposition to idleness and superstition, the same kind of courage, the same pride, but more politeness and deceit, which arises from the rigour of their present government; the same national zeal, and, above all, a decided spirit of independence, which incites the most violent hatred towards the Spaniards, who have been their tyrants, and the English, who are their masters.

“The manners of the northern provinces of Portugal have a positive resemblance to those of Scotland. Their inhabitants are a fine race of men, free, sincere, brave, full of prejudices of national hatred and patriotic love. They are universally hospitable, and, in the provinces of Entre Minho e Douro and Traz los Montes, there are no inns. In the south, on the contrary, and, above all, at Lisbon, the inhabitants are robbers, misers, traitors, brutal, fierce, and morose, with an external appearance.

" appearance which bears all the characters of their detestable natures.
 " Some exceptions, however, are to be met with, particularly among the
 " nobility; whose birth is superior to that of the Spanish nobles, and
 " who possess more affable manners, as well as a more communicative
 " spirit, which indeed they derive from a more frequent intercourse with
 " foreigners."

The effects of this national character and a despotic government may be seen in the following facts relative to population, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce.

POPULATION.

The population of Portugal is computed at 2,000,000 persons only, over a country 27,376 square miles in extent; or sixty-five to a square mile. Of this number, the inhabitants of Lisbon are computed at 120,000.

AGRICULTURE.

The marquis de Pombal, who was averse to the English interests and wished to free the Portuguese from their dependence on the trade with that country, commanded the vineyards in certain districts to be destroyed, and the land converted to the product of grain.—His commands being peremptory, the former part was obeyed; but the latter was disregarded; because the culture of grain required more labour and expence than vineyards already planted, and a sort of labour to which the people were unaccustomed.—This was not the only instance in which this celebrated minister erred from inattention to national character and circumstances; without which a statesman may do much mischief, but is not likely to do much good. " He resolved," says Dumouriez, " to make a general register of the lands in order to ascertain their value, and to discover the means to be employed for bringing them into a state of cultivation; but after all the pains and time employed on this subject, and the calculations made, the lands in question remain untouched by the plough:
 " The

* Dumouriez's Account of Portugal. 154.

"The whole province of Alentejo is uncultivated: Beira and Algarve continue to be a desert."*—Could the minister have given the nation freedom and capitals, and had he been disposed to do it, he need not have driven them to apply their land to the most profitable use; and dispassionate reflection would have told him that, without these, constraint would be fruitless and detrimental. But tyrants are apt to forget that their power is bounded by the laws of nature.

The minister was, probably, induced to adopt this ill-judged expedient by the desire of supplying the deficiency of grain, as well as by the political motive before mentioned. This was so great, according to Busching, that above half the country lay waste, and the inhabitants were supplied with a great part of their corn by importation.^c And Zimmermann says "that the soil," speaking of the kingdom in general, "produces no more corn annually than is barely sufficient for three months' consumption."

(*Manufactures.*)—The same causes operate against the success of manufactures. The marquis de Pombal attempted to establish a glass manufacture: but he was foiled in it, after expending 54,000 crowns; though he doubled the duties on foreign glass in order to promote his favourite undertaking.^d

Despotic monarchs and despotic ministers are not unfrequently seen to act on liberal principles in particular instances; but their subjects having no security for their persistence in them, they are seldom seen to produce the effect expected from them.

The abbé Raynal says, "that before the year 1755 the settlement of Brazil received annually from the mother country thirteen or fourteen ships. But that since it had been subjected by a mistaken or corrupted ministry to a monopoly, it had received no more than five or six;" and says, "that the value of its exports seldom exceeded 600,000 livres," about

* "The English," says Dumouriez, "have purchased, and consequently possess all the prime land in the environs of Oporto, and Lisbon, of Setuval, and Faro, whose wines are the best, and some of them in great estimation; so that the soil of Portugal and its productions may be said to belong to them. These circumstances, which are ruinous to the Portuguese, serve to prove their indolent disposition; of which they do not perceive the disadvantage. They prefer the culture of the vine, which requires but little trouble, to a more laborious cultivation."—*Dumouriez's Account of Portugal*. 203.

^b Dumouriez's Account. 205.

^c Busching. 2. 176.

^d Zimmermann. 333.

about £.25,000.*—It was, probably, a consideration of this and other similar facts which induced the marquis to publish an edict in 1766, by which the national trade was laid open to any one who should choose to embark in it.†—An increase of trade ensued. But the same minister was prevailed on to erect new companies, with exclusive rights over those branches of commerce which had been before free; thus counteracting his own measure. Moreover, the English, by means of their capitals, soon became masters of the trade.‡

From the same cause it proceeds that the trade between China and Portugal is carried on by the English. According to Dumouriez, “one ship only sails from Lisbon to the East Indies in a year; and this vessel, so far from adding to the royal revenues, costs the king above 200,000 crusades, about £.10,000.‡—In vain did the minister endeavour the establishment of different manufactures, and cherish, by his countenance and the assistance of the state, those branches of trade which appeared most deserving of protection.‡ His continual tampering with commerce, and his personally embarking in it, defeated his purposes, and added daily to the evils arising from absolute power.

Their chief European trade is with the English; and the balance in that is very much against the Portuguese. “In 1785,” according to Zimmermann, “the goods imported from Great Britain and Ireland, consisting of woollen cloth, corn, fish, and hardware, amounted to above £.960,000. “The English took in return products of Portugal and Brazil to the amount of £.728,000 only;” so that there was a balance against this country of £.232,000.*—It is the Brazils, chiefly, which afford the resources

* The following list from Anderson affords both a positive and relative view of the trade of Lisbon during the year 1787.

“ English,	333	Imperial,	5
“ French,	128	Maltese,	6
“ Dutch,	72	Neapolitan,	2
“ Swedes,	69	Hamburgers,	1
“ Danes,	54	Tuscan,	1
“ Americans,	33	Bremen,	1
“ Spaniards,	23	Dantzic,	1
“ Ragusans,	14	Portuguese,	300
“ Venetians,	6		

“ 1048.”—Anderson's *H. Com.* 4. 656.

† Raynal. 4. 444.

‡ Dumouriez. 60.

§ Memoires du M. de Pombal. 3. 54.

¶ Dumouriez. 207.

|| Zimmermann. 332. Pombal. 4. 20.

sources that enable the Portuguese to carry on this disadvantageous trade. —“ Only 15,000,000 livres in specie are supposed to circulate in a “ country which draws annually above £1,500,000, or 36,000,000 livres “ from the mines of Brazil.”—What a notorious proof of the small effect of wealth which does not originate in, nor is, in any considerable degree, connected with, national industry!

(*Canal d'Oeyras.*)—Before we leave the subject of Portuguese trade it is proper to mention the canal d'Oeyras.—The marquis de Pombal had embarked deeply in the wine trade. And the object of this work was to convey his wine from d'Oeyras to the sea. This was only four miles; but the difficulty of the work, which the minister prevailed on his sovereign to execute to gratify his ambition and rapacity, was increased by natural obstructions. †^k

Beside the nature of their government, the Portuguese labour under other impediments to advancement in agriculture, manufactures, and trade, in common with the Spaniards; these are their pride and the distribution of property. A great portion of the landed property is in the hands of the church and monasteries. The remainder is chiefly in the hands of the nobility. The superior nobles, or *grandees*, who are styled *dons*, are rendered independent of industrious exertion by their vast estates and their pensions from the court. Having no functions to attend to as senators, and but few having appointments in the army or navy, they are saunterers by profession and consider ignorance as one of the privileges of their order.*—The *fidalgos*, or inferior nobility, have the haughtiness of the *grandees*

† In 1773.

* Dumouriez says, “ that very few of them enter into the army, because they cannot obtain “ permission. They have carried audacity, tyranny, and independence to the highest pitch, “ from the epocha of the proclamation of don Juan de Braganza, in 1640, to the assassination “ of the king in 1756. The count d'Oeyras availed himself of the latter event to reduce and “ lower them in a much greater degree than they had ever been elevated. He restored the “ authority of the king and the laws amid streams of blood. The greater part of the principal “ persons among them perished in prison. These *fidalgos* which frequent the court are poor, “ base, and grovelling; those alone who are particularly attached to him are permitted to serve “ in the army; or such who have not any quality that can give him umbrage. The rest of the “ nobility live without credit; at once ignorant, loaded with debts, and without any exterior “ distinction.”—*Dumouriez*. 165.

^k Memoires du Marquis de Pombal. 4. 35

grandees without their property. Instead of that pride by which every human being ought to be actuated, which excites emulation and operates as a stimulus to action, and which is gratified by a sense of being useful to the world, they have that false pride which tells them that it is more honourable to subsist on the wages of sycophantism or the profits of the gaming table, than on the honest fruits of industry.

SCIENCES AND BELLES LETTRES.

The Portuguese, as well as Spaniards, have shewn that they have a genius for works of imagination. They have produced their Camoens; whose *Lusiadas* is ranked among the finest modern heroic poems.

The marquis de Pombal was ambitious to be celebrated as the patron of the belles lettres; and he thought it incumbent on him to attend to their advancement, to compensate for his having been the chief instrument in accomplishing the expulsion of the jesuits from Portugal; an order which had supplied most of the professors in the universities, and others employed in the education of youth.—His first measure for that purpose was the establishment of the royal college of nobles at Lisbon, an account of which may be seen in the history of the year 1766.¹—Another measure was the reform of the university of Coimbra; where were 5,000 students, the greatest part of whom, from want of proper incitements to application, wasted their time in the arrantest trifles. The marquis, invested with authority by his sovereign, made a thorough reform in this seminary. || He appointed new professors, chiefly foreigners; he caused a great number of regulations to be made, as the foundation of a new system² of discipline; and he assigned part of the revenue of the jesuits to the augmentation of the salaries of professors, &c.

However the all-powerful minister might triumph in this exploit, the event proved how averse the sciences and literature are to constraint; how little they are capable of being benefited by the operations of absolute power. The result of his regulations was, we are told in his memoirs, that, of 5,000 students, not more than 600 remained after the reform.³

Absolute

|| In 1772.

¹ Memoires. 3. 52.

² Idem. 4. 29. 32.

Absolute power may make laws for the learned as well as unlearned: but freedom alone, and the emulation excited, and the opportunities of employment which present themselves, in a well constituted society, will call forth the energies of the human mind and give them due effect.

REVENUE.

The marquis de Pombal's financial regulations redound much to his credit. "Previous to his ministry," says Dumouriez, "the finances of Portugal were in a most deplorable state of administration, 22,000 clerks or writers, divided into a considerable number of offices, devoured the revenues, embroiled the accounts, and swallowed up the treasure. The minister, by a single edict of the month of october 1761, reduced this enormous crowd of blood-suckers to thirty-two well qualified and chosen persons."

The revenue, according to Zimmermann, amounts to £1,800,000.—This account corresponds with that of Dumouriez; who says that there are various opinions respecting it; some calculating it at 70,000,000, and some at 80,000,000 livres."

NAVY.

The marquis's regulations respecting the navy, likewise, appear to have considerable merit. "Five or six disabled ships and as many frigates without officers or sailors constituted the whole force of Portugal."—Having procured the appointment of his brother to the office of secretary of the marine department, that he might have it more completely under his direction, he, in seven or eight years, put it upon a respectable footing. The actual state of the navy (in 1766) says Dumouriez, "consists of ten ships of the line and double that number of frigates, all built of the finest Brazil timber."—Zimmermann says "that, in 1785, the navy consisted of twenty-four ships; thirteen of which were of the line."

ARMY.

" Account of Portugal. 206.

ARMY.

According to the establishment of the year 1772, the army ought to consist of 35,998 men; viz. thirty-eight regiments of foot, and twelve of cavalry.—Beside these, there is a militia, formed from among the peasantry.*

ITALY.

• Zimmermann. 337.

ITALY.

CHARACTER AND REVOLUTIONS.

NO part of the world has undergone more signal changes, whether we respect the people or the country itself, than Italy.—The Romans, a war-like people, became dissolute and luxurious, and, by degrees, enervated, from what may be termed an unnatural wealth, arising from conquest.—Their grandeur was ill-founded. And the decline and final extinction of the western empire was as rapid and wonderful as its rise and unexampled extent of dominion and power.

The middle ages present an entire new state of things. The former inhabitants of Italy were not absolutely exterminated by the irruption of the barbarous hordes; but they were driven for refuge to places of the greatest security.—Venice either was founded in consequence of the desolation of the territories near the Adriatic by the Huns, or afforded an asylum to those who were expelled from them; and, on account of its local advantages and its security, it became the favourite seat of commerce.

It was afterwards rivalled by Genoa and other cities, which, amidst the changes that took place in their political circumstances in the course of the middle ages, laid the foundation of an extensive trade, by which they acquired vast wealth, the memorials of which remain in their sumptuous palaces and collections of paintings and statuary.

When the course of trade was changed by the discovery of the passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, the Italian merchants
were

were deprived of their sources of wealth: and those nobles whose ancestors had acquired princely fortunes by commerce, not being prepared to meet the change in the effective value of money, which took place at the same period, were left with the habits consequent on riches, without the means of supporting that magnificent style of living to which they had been accustomed. Luxury and sloth debased their spirits, at the same time that they enervated their bodies.—An English traveller who visited Italy above an hundred years since, speaking of the Venetians, says, “ the young nobility are so generally corrupted in their morals, and so given up to a most supine ignorance of all sort of knowledge, that a man cannot easily imagine to what a height this is grown: and for military courage there is scarce so much as the ambition of being thought brave remaining among the greater part of them. It seemed to me a strange thing to see the Broglia so full of graceful young senators and nobles, when there was so glorious a war on foot with the Turks, but instead of being heated in point of honour to hazard their lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of folly for them to go and hazard it when a little money can hire strangers that do it on such easy terms; and thus their arms are in the hands of strangers, while they stay at home managing their intrigues in the Broglia, and dissolving their spirits among their courtezans. And the reputation of their service is of late years so much sunk that it is very strange to see so many come to a service so decried, where there is so little care had of the soldiers, and so little regard had to the officers: the arrears are so slowly paid; and the rewards are so scantily distributed, that if they do not change their maxims they may come to feel this very sensibly; for as their subjects are not acquainted with warlike matters, so the nobility have no sort of ambition that way, and strangers are extremely disgusted. It is chiefly to the conjuncture of affairs that they owe their safety, for the feebleness of all their neighbours, the Turk, the emperor, the king of Spain, the pope, and the duke of Mantua, preserves them from the apprehension of an invasion, and the quarrels, and degeneracy of their subjects, save them from the fears of a revolt, *but a formidable neighbour would put them hard to it.*” *—Such was the character then borne by the Venetians.

* Burnet's Letters from Italy. 147.

Venetians. Nor was it confined to the subjects of this republic. "The worst people of all Italy," says the same writer, "are the Genoese, and the most generally corrupted in their morals." Nor were laziness and vice confined to any particular description of people. "It amazes a stranger," says he, "to see in their little towns the whole men of the town walking in the market places in their torn cloaks." Having no employment, and being easily subsisted, they appear to derive their chief enjoyment from the indulgence of a nerveless indolence.

These circumstances are deserving our notice, because they enable us to account for the late revolutions in Italy. When a person observes a country divided into small states, without any principle of union, and a people without morals or a sense of national honour, far from being surprised that they have been overrun and subjugated, he will be ready to exclaim with Tiberius, *O homines ad servitutem paratos*.^b It has been observed, that slaves make tyrants, not tyrants slaves. And it may be observed with equal truth, that an enervated and unwarlike people invite conquerors, and are destined to be held in thralldom by some state or other, till their character and circumstances shall be essentially changed. What the remote effect of the late revolution will be, time alone can prove. As the division of the country into small states, impressing a sense of weakness, appears to have concurred with personal character in effecting their subjugation, so it is highly probable that, when an union into one state shall have given them a sense of strength, the confidence arising from it will induce them at some future period to assert their independency, and to unite with Austria to balance the power of their conqueror. The Italians, freed from the disgrace of dependency, may then again display that genius for the liberal arts and the sciences for which they have been celebrated; and they may ve that, although their morals and their whole character have been depraved through 'accidental circumstances, and particularly that of a wretched system of government, they have still the latent principles of respectability, and are capable of displaying talents and virtues worthy of their ancestors.

POPULATION

^b Tacit. Annales. 3. 65.

POPULATION AND CULTIVATION.

Zimmermann states the population of all Italy at 16,000,000 of persons, upon an extent of 90,000 square miles.—But it ought to be observed that a very considerable part of this population consists of the inhabitants of cities.^c The thinly peopled territories of several of the Italian powers, particularly those of the pope, are a reproach to their sovereigns. Mr. Addison is of opinion that the Campania of Rome, or what was anciently called Latium, contained more inhabitants than are at present throughout all Italy.—He may have erred by overrating the population of ancient Rome. But it is a notorious fact that not a quarter part of the Campania is at present cultivated; and that there is not a tenth part of the people in the open country which would be required for the proper cultivation of it. The causes of this want of cultivation and population having been already shewn in the history of the year 1779, we need not dwell on so mournful a subject.—We may hope that the present pope will adopt a system of policy better suited to an enlightened age.

REVENUE OF THE SEE OF ROME.

The pontiff's revenue has been so much affected by the late revolutions in Italy that it would be difficult to speak with any precision upon the subject.

MILITARY FORCE OF THE POPE.

The pope's ordinary force before the revolution, according to the abbé Richard, consisted of a company of light horse of the guard, and the cuirassiers of the guard; each consisting of sixty men.—A body of Swiss guards attendant on the pontiff's person. A company of Avignonese and another of Corsican guards.—Beside these, there were some other troops stationed in the principal cities and frontier towns in the ecclesiastical states; but they were of small account, whether we respect their number or character.^d

PUBLIC

^c That of Rome is computed to be 157,458 persons.

^d *Memoires d'Italie*, 5, 27.

PUBLIC WORKS.

The draining of the Pontine Marshes being the most memorable undertaking of the late pope, and one which, if successful, would have done signal honour to his pontificate, it may not be improper to add to the account already given of it, the following from the writer of his life. "Two rivers, the *Amasenus* and the *Ufens*," says he, "appear to have been, by their overflowing, the first cause of the desolation to which this country has been condemned whenever the carelessness of the government has ceased to call the guardian hand of industry to its assistance."—"It is," says that writer, "the country of the Volsci, who made so great a figure during the robust infancy of the Roman republic; and it was for a long time one of its principal granaries. But towards the time when Rome was in its greatest splendour, this district, desolated by inundations, was indiscriminately denominated the Pontine country, and the Pontine marshes (*ager Pontinus*, *palus Pontinus*;) the three and twenty cities, which formerly embellished its surface, no longer existing but in the remembrance of the Romans. The principal families of Rome, however, established in such cantons, as the elevation of the ground, and the efforts of industry, preserved from the ravages of the stagnant water, those country seats, the beauty and fertility of which were celebrated by the Roman poets.

"About three centuries before the christian era, Appius Claudius, the censor, surnamed the Blind, stood forward as the first restorer of this country. He carried across the morass the road which bears his name, and of which the magnificence was never equalled. Among other monuments, it offered to the eye those tombs which suggested to the mind of the pensive traveller this philosophical thought: Those who repose here once lived, and, like thee, were mortal."

Attempts were made to drain this country by the consul, Cornelius Cethegus; after him by Augustus Cæsar, and lastly by Trajan; but they all proved ineffectual. After the irruption of the Goths, cultivation was neglected; the mud again accumulated; and the marshes soon assumed their

* Life of Pius the Fifth. 8. 114.

their former frightful appearance.—Pius the Sixth must be honoured for his perseverance in this very useful undertaking. But he, too, was destined to be foiled in it.—After he had spent a vast sum of money, it appeared that the water of the sea was higher than the morass, and that the difficulty of excluding it was insuperable to a potentate circumstanced as the pontiff was.[†]—Had the Dutch republicans occupied that spot, they would, probably, have succeeded in making a barrier against the Mediterranean, as they did against the German sea.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The most memorable events of ecclesiastical history during this period are the persecution and final ruin of the jesuits.—The origin, progress, and abolition of that celebrated order are all equally extraordinary.—Founded in 1534 by Ignatius Loyola, a man bred to the army, without any apparent adequate means, its progress was so rapid, that before his death, in 1556, they had twelve large provinces. And in 1679, when the last catalogue of their foundations was printed, they had thirty-five provinces, two vice-provinces, thirty-three professed houses, five hundred and seventy-eight colleges, forty-eight houses of probation, eighty-eight seminaries, one hundred and sixty residences, one hundred and six missions, and, in all, 17,655 brethren, of whom 7,870 were priests.[‡]

So successful were they in recommending themselves to public notice by their learning and political accomplishments, and by their attention to the education of youth, that there was scarcely a court in Europe where they were not employed as agents, and but few wherein they had not an influence in the national councils. They had missionaries in every part of the world: and their universal dispersion enabled them to become the centre of intrigue, and the channel for every machination.

It is remarkable that the same circumstances which were the foundation of their power and prosperity were also the cause of their fall.—Their intrigues in Paraguay incensed the courts of Madrid and Lisbon against them; which were apprehensive that the light which they were diffusing in America, and the good effects of their excellent regulations in their provinces

[†] Life of Pius. 1. 127.

[‡] Life of Loyola.

provinces in that quarter of the world, would eventually prove ruinous to their own oppressive governments there. This occasioned their expulsion from Portugal and Spain.^b And their embarking too deeply in trade, and their malepractices in consequence of distress, afforded Choiseul, their inveterate enemy, an opportunity to accomplish their expulsion from France.^c

The prevailing parties in France, Spain, and Portugal had now incensed them so much that they did not think it safe to suffer their existence. Therefore they employed all their influence at the court of Rome to effect their abolition; and accomplished their purpose, as we have already seen in the history of the ecclesiastical state.^d

The affairs of the dissidents in Poland,^e the measures adopted by the emperor relative to the suppression of the monasteries in his dominions and other matters of ecclesiastical reform,^f the efforts of the French republicans to root out all religious belief from the minds of men, that they might free themselves from the embarrassments which they apprehended from it in the prosecution of their revolutionary schemes,^g and the final settlement of a religious establishment in France,^h are transactions which properly belong to ecclesiastical history: but as they have been interwoven with civil and political occurrences, the reader, to avoid repetition, is referred to the respective histories for an account of them.

MALTA.

^b See 1759-67.
^c Germany. 1781, &c.

^d See 1764.

^e See 1772-3.
^f France. 1793.

^g Poland. 1766, &c.
^h Idem. 1800.

MALTA.

THE late occurrences relative to the isle of Malta and the Maltese knights of St. John of Jerusalem, interest us in their history: and, to such as have not leisure to read a regular history of the order, the following particulars respecting their origin, and the most memorable vicissitudes of fortune which they have experienced, may, perhaps, be satisfactory.

Their history is particularly interesting, as it makes us acquainted with the character of the age in which they were established; which was marked with savage ferocity on the one hand, and religious zeal and fervent piety on the other.—When Palestine had fallen into the hands of the Saracens, some merchants of Amalfi in Italy recommended themselves to the friendship of the reigning caliph in the course of their commercial intercourse with his dominions. Actuated by the pious chivalry of the age, they, in pity to the numerous pilgrims who daily risked their lives in pilgrimages to the Holy Land, availed themselves of his good graces to procure for them an asylum at Jerusalem; and, with his permission, towards the close of the eleventh century, they built a house of hospitality, near the holy sepulchre, for their reception, and a church, where worship might be performed with their own rites and ceremonies.—With the caliph's consent, whose favour they secured by an annual tribute, they afterwards built two chapels, one dedicated to the virgin Mary, and the other to *St. John the Almoner, or Hospitable*, from whom they assumed the name of **KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM, OR KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS.**

By this name they were afterwards sanctioned, as a religious order, by pope PASCAL THE SECOND, at the entreaty of Gerard, their founder and first master; and they were soon supplied with the means of practising the hospitality

hospitality which they professed by the contributions of the pious throughout Europe.

They had not remained many years in the peaceful enjoyment of these privileges, when Jerusalem was taken by the Turks, the caliph's garrison was put to the sword, and the knights were dispersed.

This event gave occasion to the crusades which took place in the twelfth century; when an enterprising spirit, blending itself with religious zeal, led such as were actuated by it to enlist under the banners of those who successively offered themselves the champions of christianity, in order to rescue the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels.

The knights hospitallers, having distinguished themselves in the first crusade, preached and conducted by *Peter the Hermit*, were permitted by pope Calixtus the Second to alter their constitution, and to constitute themselves a military as well as religious order.—It was then divided into three classes. The first consisted of such as, by their noble birth or the rank which they had held in the army, were deemed best qualified to bear arms in defence of the cause which they had embraced.—The second consisted of such as exercised the sacerdotal function; and these attended the army as almoners or chaplains.—The third were such as had neither of these distinctions, and were called *serving brethren*.*

The knights merited the distinctions granted them by their valour. Such was the fame which they had soon acquired in the wars with the infidels, that it was deemed a high honour to be of their order, and all the enterprising young nobles and others courted it.—It was then thought expedient to divide them into eight tongues, or nations, which were as follow—*Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, England, Germany, and Castile*.

In the mean-time, the champions of the crusade, having gained possession of Palestine, had invested Godfrey de Bouillon with the sovereignty by the style of *King of Jerusalem*: and that monarch and his successor, Baldwin, ceded several fortresses to the knights, in reward of their signal services.

As their greatness was derived from their merit in these wars, so they partook in the adverse fortune which attended the christian cause.—

When

* Universal History. 29. p. 24 to 30.

When Jerusalem was taken by the celebrated Saladin, emperor of the Turks, in 1191, they retired to their fortress of Acre, where they remained till the year 1291; when they were driven thence by the Turks, and retired to Cyprus, the sovereignty of which had been bequeathed to them by its last sovereign, Hughes de Lusignan.^b

Several events afterwards concurred to increase the wealth and power of the knights.—The first of these was the conquest they made of the isle of Rhodes, then thinly inhabited by Greeks and Saracens, under the protection of the Eastern empire.†—Another was the abolition of the knights templars, on account of the heresy and malepractices of their brethren, and the transfer of great part of their vast possessions to the knights of St. John in 1312.^c

Their history from this time to the beginning of the sixteenth century was signalized by their wars with the infidels, the particulars of which are too numerous to be related here.—In the year 1522, Soliman the Magnificent, being determined if possible to free himself of the annoyance which the Turkish empire had experienced from them, attacked them with a prodigious force by sea and land.—The grand master, Villiers l'Isle Adam, with only 600 knights and 5000 soldiers, made a gallant defence;‡ but was at length constrained to capitulate, after a siege of six months,^d upon the mortifying condition, among others, “that all the islands belonging to “them, and the castle of St. Peter, should be surrendered to the Turks.”^e

They then withdrew first to Cyprus, and, afterwards, some of them to Italy, where a residence was granted them by CLEMENT THE SEVENTH, at Viterbo; and others to Nice, where they were protected by FRANCIS THE FIRST.

Dr. Robertson says, “that the emperor and the French king, ashamed “of having occasioned such a loss to christendom by their ambitious “contests, endeavoured to throw the blame of it on each other, while all “Europe, with greater justice, imputed it equally to both. The emperor, “by way of reparation,” says he, “granted the knights of St. John the small “island of Malta, in which they fixed their residence, retaining, though “with

† In 1307.

‡ December 20.

^b L'Art de Verifier de Dates. 426. ^c Idem. 428. ^d Robertson's Charles the Fifth. 2. 152.
^e Universal Hist. 19. p. 162. L'Art de Verifier. 429.

“ with less power and splendour, their ancient spirit, and implacable enmity
 “ to the infidels.”^f

A sense of shame or regret may have had some influence in determining the emperor to cede this island to the knights. But if we attend to the terms made with them, it will be evident that policy had still more.

“ They were to engage to be at continual war with the Turks, and all
 “ corsairs or rovers of whatever nation, or religion; and beside must
 “ promise upon oath, (1.) That the kingdom of Spain shall suffer no detri-
 “ ment from these ceded countries. (2.) That the right of patronage to
 “ the bishopric of Malta shall continue in the king of Spain as king of
 “ Sicily, but that he shall always choose the bishop from among three
 “ persons presented by the grand master. (3.) That an Italian shall be
 “ captain of the galleys, and not a foreigner, whom the Spaniards may
 “ have any reason to suspect. (4.) That whenever the order should again
 “ become master of Rhodes, or transplant itself elsewhere, these ceded
 “ lands shall revert to the king of Spain as king of Sicily; and, (5.)
 “ That, in acknowledgment for this tenure, the order every year, on all-
 “ saints-day, shall send a deputation with a falcon to the viceroy of
 “ Naples. From this epocha they obtained the name of knights of
 “ Malta.”^g

If we consider the force and character of the knights, we shall be convinced that the alliance and support of such a fraternity, who, from their very institution, were enemies to the Turks, of whom Charles stood in dread, and who, in this situation, would become the centinels of the Mediterranean, were cheaply purchased with the cession of an island of so little intrinsic value.

In 1563, their fortress of Valetta, the chief strength of the island, was invested by a Turkish fleet consisting of one hundred and fifty-nine large galleys and galleons, with 30,000 troops on board. But it was defended with such determined bravery by the knights and their auxiliaries that the besiegers were obliged to retire, after a siege of four months, with the loss of a great part of their forces.—After that, nothing memorable occurred till the reduction of the fortress by the French in 1798.

According to captain Morgan, who published the History of Algiers in 1728 “ their naval force at that time consisted of seven stout ships of
 “ war,

^f Robertson's Charles the Fifth. 5. and 2. 153.

^g Busching. 3. 220.

“ war, none carrying fewer than 50 guns, beside galleys and privateers of
 “ all sizes; with which they were perpetually harassing the coasts of Bar-
 “ bary, and bringing home prizes to Malta.”^b

Busching gives us the following concise description of this celebrated little island.—After saying that it was anciently called *Iberia*, afterwards *Ogygia*, and by the Greeks *Melita*, and adverting to the mention made of it in the scripture account of St. Paul’s voyage to Rome, he proceeds thus: “ its
 “ length is computed to be 20,000 paces, its greatest breadth 12,000, and
 “ its circumference 60,000, or sixty Italian miles. It is entirely rocky, and
 “ produces no more corn than barely suffices to maintain the inhabitants
 “ for six months. Many ship-loads of earth have indeed been brought
 “ here from Sicily, and the rocky bottom covered therewith, in order to
 “ render some places more fruitful, but the soil has in a short time crum-
 “ bled into dust, there being but little rain to preserve it in a proper
 “ adhesion. The wine produced in this island is not sufficient for its con-
 “ sumption, and it also is deficient in wood. On the other hand it has
 “ fruits and cotton, a plenty of honey, good pastures, considerable
 “ fisheries, sea-salt, and a profitable coral fishery. Its annual revenues are
 “ computed at 76,000 scudi. The number of its inhabitants amounts in
 “ all to about 60,000. The common language of the country is a corrupt
 “ Arabic, but in towns Italian is spoken.

“ The most ancient inhabitants of this island, of whom we have any
 “ account, were the Phœacians, who were driven out by the Phœnicians,
 “ and they in their turn by the Greeks. Afterwards it seems to have
 “ been under the dominion of the Carthaginians, from whom the Romans
 “ took it. Upon the declension of the Roman empire it was first subdued
 “ by the Goths, then by the Saracens, but wrested from them by the
 “ Normans in the year 1090, after which time it had the same masters
 “ as Sicily, till Charles the Fifth gave it to the knights of St. John
 “ of Jerusalem.”

The knights, according to Clarke are 1000; of which number 500 reside in the island; and the remainder are dispersed through France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, and are to attend when summoned.—After their accession of property by the suppression of the knights templars, they are said to have had 20,000 manors in different kingdoms.ⁱ

NAPLES

^b Anderson. 2. 39.

ⁱ Clarke’s Hist. of Knighthood. 48.

NAPLES AND SICILY.

POPE'S FEODAL CLAIMS.

THE pope's feodal claims in the kingdom of Naples having been disputed during this period, it may be interesting to the reader to be made acquainted with the grounds of them.—“ The title of investiture which the pope claims for the kingdom of Naples,” says Busching, “ commenced in the middle of the eleventh century, when pope Leo the Ninth invested count Humphry the Norman and his heirs with Apulia, Calabria, and whatever he should conquer in Sicily. Though this investiture properly at first meant no more than that the pope wished success to the Norman arms, and pronounced their future enterprises and conquests lawful, which greatly animated the Normans, yet this same papal investiture was made more absolute in the year 1059, under Nicholas the Second, by his granting to duke Robert Guiscard the dukedoms of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily, and by investing him with them as fiefs; and Richard submitted to the like tenure for the principality of Capua. The Normans were willing to become vassals to the court of Rome, so much the more as thereby they were secured both from the emperors of the east and west; and having afterwards conquered the other principalities of which the present kingdom of Naples consists, they also submitted to the pope's investiture for them, and Robert even transferred the city of Benevento to the see of Rome; whence it is that, in the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, the pope excepts this city, and the king, in acknowledgment of the pope's feodal right, sends every year to him a white palfrey and a purse of 6000 ducats.”*

EXTENT

* Busching. 3. 134.

EXTENT AND POPULATION.

The kingdom of Naples is stated by Zimmermann to have a population of 6,000,000 persons upon an extent of 29,600 square miles, or 203 to a square mile.

That of Sicily has a population of 1,300,000 persons upon 9,216 square miles, or 141 to a square mile.—Of this population the city of Naples has 380,900: and that of Palermo has 120,000.

NATURAL PRODUCTS AND COMMERCE.

There is no part of Europe naturally so fertile as these kingdoms, and few better situated for trade. The soil is capable of producing abundant crops of corn and is particularly adapted to the product of wine, fruits of various kinds, oil, rice, flax, and many other articles of consumption and export.—The country, moreover, produces a great variety of minerals.

To balance these natural advantages, is the distribution of landed property; the greatest part of which is in the hands of the church and the monasteries. The remainder is in the possession either of the crown, or of the princes and nobles, most of whom are indigent and proud. According to Busching, there are in the kingdom of Naples alone, 119 princes, 156 dukes, 173 marquisses, 42 counts, and 443 barons; making in all 742, besides a great number of others who have the denomination of nobles.—How ill-suited their estates are to the support of their rank we may judge from the same author's account; who says "that the land from which many marquisses derive their titles does not, perhaps, bring in above fifty-six rix dollars a year."—In the great cities beggary goes hand in hand with extreme dissoluteness, associated with its favourite companion, superstition.*

With

* To prevent the impoverishment of the country by the money which the nobles resident at Rome and other parts of Italy had drawn from it, the abbé Richard informs us, in his Description of Italy, that a regulation had been made, "by which the proprietors of the grand fiefs were obliged to reside on their domains, or in some town in the district, on pain of losing a third part of their revenues; which passes by confiscation into the royal treasury."
—*Mémoires d'Italie par l'Abbé Richard.*

b Busching. 3. 180.

With all these disadvantages in its social state, so prolific is the soil, that Naples exports annually 1,885,000 bushels of wheat. 200,000 cassini, each weighing 18lb. of oil.—Saffron to the amount of 30,000 ducats, of 3s. 9d. each, is exported from the province of Abruzzo. Sicily exports 2,000 chests of oranges. The environs of Syracuse produces, beside different sorts of excellent wine, 84,000 lb. of almonds. Messina exports 6,000 chests of lemons, and other parts of the kingdom of Sicily as many more. Naples produces 800,000 lb. of silk, and Sicily as much as amounts to above £.180,000 in value.—Naples is the emporium of a considerable trade; but it is carried on chiefly by foreigners.^c

REVENUE.

The royal revenue is stated by Zimmermann to amount to 12,000,000 florins. Of this revenue the capitation of Naples yields 4,200,000 florins. That of Sicily 2,300,000. The customs 1,000,000. The farm of tobacco 660,000 florins. And the king's demesnes and other smaller resources the remainder.^d

ARMY.

The ordinary military force of this kingdom, according to de Riesch, consists of 3,500 cavalry, 20,500 infantry, and 1,200 artillery-men.^e

NAVY.

The Neapolitan navy is very weak. It consists of four frigates, from 30 to 54 guns: eight chebeques of 20 guns: six chebeques from Sicily: three galleys: four galeotes.^f

SARDINIA.

^c Zimmermann. 288.^d Idem. 292.^e De Riesch ap. Zimmermann.^f Idem.

SARDINIA.

EXTENT AND POPULATION.

THE kingdom of Sardinia has a population of 420,000 over an extent of 7,040 square miles, or 53 to a square mile.—The duchy of Savoy has 300,000 over 2,880 square miles, or 104 to a mile.—The duchy of Piedmont has 2,450,000 over an extent of 10,240 square miles, or 239 to a mile.—Of this population, that of Turin is 82,000.—Cagliari in Sardinia, 24,000; and Chamberry 11,000.

REVENUE.

The revenue of the king of Sardinia, according to Zimmermann, amounts to only about a million sterling.—Of this, Sardinia supplies only about a seventeenth part; and of that, four fifths is disbursed in the expences of its government.—So judiciously are the taxes laid, and the financial department administered, according to the abbé Richard, that the people are not oppressed; and, with so small a revenue, the crown is free from debt.

ARMY.

Notwithstanding his Sardinian majesty's Italian dominions are called the key of Italy, and his fortresses numerous and extensive, his revenue will not admit of his keeping a large force in time of peace.—According to Busching, the peace establishment is 15,000 men.—The abbé Richard says that the king had at least 12,000 men on foot in time of peace, beside his household troops.†

PRODUCT

† Before the year 1770.

• Memoires d'Italie. 1. 85.

PRODUCT AND COMMERCE.

Piedmont and Montferrat abound in corn, wine, oil, fruits of various kinds, maize, rice, hemp and flax.—The number of sheep in the island of Sardinia is said to amount to 1,600,000. Its other products are not considerable.—Savoy is almost entirely mountainous, and its product very small.—Piedmont produces large quantities of the finest silk: single peasants often raise 100 lb. in a year.—There are 600 looms for silk stockings in Turin; and 100,000 lb. of silk is required to supply the manufactures of that city.—In the village of Torre, in Piedmont, above 50,000 lb. of silk is spun.—About 300,000 lb. of raw and spun silk is annually sent to Switzerland.—The whole annual produce of raw silk in Piedmont is estimated at 650,000 lb.

The Piedmontese, moreover, manufacture cloth fit for clothing the troops.—They likewise produce a considerable quantity of wine; some of which is exported; as are also their spirituous liquors, for which they are celebrated.

GERMANY.

 GERMANY.

NATIONAL CHARACTER.

IT has been observed, that no part of Europe has undergone so little change, whether we respect the people, the language, or the constitution, as Germany.

Tacitus, with the prejudices natural to the inhabitant of a milder climate, ascribes this to the situation and nature of the country; which he represents as so uncultivated, so rude and cheerless in its aspect, and in its climate so austere, that no native of Asia, Africa, or Italy, would leave these countries, and brave the dangers of a rough and unknown sea, to seek a settlement in it.* But baron de Hertzberg, with the feelings of a German patriot, attributes the fact, that Germany has not been conquered, and, of course, has not undergone the changes generally consequent on conquest, to the valour and energy of his countrymen. "The German nation," says that statesman, in a dissertation read before the academy at Berlin, "are robust
 " and warlike from the influence of the climate, from the natural structure
 " of their bodies, and from the moral and political circumstances of the
 " German states. By these qualities, by these causes, and by the Providence
 " that produced them, the German nation has been destined to effect, and
 " not to undergo revolutions, to destroy that colossus, the Roman empire,
 " to conquer and to form the modern monarchies of France, England,
 " Spain,

* "Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim, minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitibus mixtos: quia nec terra olim, sed classibus advehebantur qui mutare sedes quærebant: et immensus ultra, utque sic dixerim, adversus oceanus raris ab orbe nostro navibus aditur. Quis porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asia, aut Africa, aut Italia relictæ, Germaniam peteret? informen terris, asperam cælo, tristem cultu aspectuque, nisi si patria sit."—*Taciti liber de Moribus Germ.* 2.

" Spain, Portugal, and Italy, and to found, in the bosom of their own country, a vast monarchy, which is in appearance monstrous and irregular, and, of course, liable to revolutions; but which may reasonably be expected to maintain itself, as long as the character and *patriotism* of the nation and *their sovereigns*, and the policy of the neighbouring states shall continue the same."

These sentiments respecting the German character and the Germanic constitution, which under other circumstances might be considered merely as matter of rational curiosity, receive importance when considered as applicable to the events of the present momentous crisis and the present situation of Europe.

Had the German powers incurred their late adverse fortune from external causes only, without any fault in themselves, their case might then be considered as desperate, as not being retrievable by their own exertions. But the fact is notoriously otherwise. And, as was observed on a similar occasion of national disgrace, " what, if considered with a view to the past, is the worst circumstance attending their affairs, is the most propitious if contemplated with a view to the future—that it has proceeded from their own remissness and misconduct."

If we advert to the events of the late war, it will not be seen that baron Hertzberg was led by his patriotism to entertain too favourable an opinion of the national character of the Germans. It was not a want of those martial virtues which he attributes to his countrymen that led to the disgraceful issue of the war. On the contrary, the German troops displayed on every occasion the most exemplary valour, military discipline, and patience of all the evils of war, and they were commanded by generals of distinguished talents. The fault was not in the troops, but in their sovereigns. Their patriotism was superseded by their jealousy; and a regard to the public good and the independency of the German empire was sacrificed to personal interest.

The same observations may be applied to the Swiss. Switzerland has been compared to a citadel in the midst of Europe. To carry on the allusion, the fortress was well manned in point of numbers; nor does it appear that the troops were unwilling to perform their duty. But their
leaders

* Hertzberg's Dissert. 125.

leaders were disunited among themselves; and hence it arose that they fell an easy conquest to the invader.

But if jealousy and disunion and self-interested politics, have been attended with such fatal consequences; if, as is notoriously true, they have cost the Swiss and the Dutch their liberties, and have brought the German empire to the verge of ruin, it is certainly a most powerful argument for immediately adopting a contrary line of conduct. France has, by the additions made to its territories, acquired a population far exceeding that of any nation of modern times. The effect of its strength is increased by its local and political circumstances. And Europe has already experienced the result of its eccentric efforts under circumstances far less propitious than the present. If the German powers, therefore, would avert the fate of the neighbouring states, they will be admonished by past events to unite firmly among themselves; and, with a valour and patriotism worthy of their primeval character, they will resist the further aggrandizement of a republic which threatens destruction to the liberties and independency of Europe.

EXTENT AND POPULATION.

The extent and population of the empire are set forth in the following table from Zimmermann.

	EXTENT.	POPULATION.	AVERAGE.
" Upper Saxony,	32,000	3,700,000	115
" Lower Saxony,	20,480	2,100,000	102
" Westphalia,	20,000	2,300,000	115
" Upper Rhine,	8,000	1,000,000	225
" Lower Rhine,	7,328	1,100,000	163
" Burgundy,	7,504	1,880,000	255
" Franconia,	7,744	1,000,000	125
" Swabia,	11,664	1,800,000	154
" Bavaria,	16,320	1,600,000	98
" Austria,	34,320	4,182,000	121
" Bohemia,	15,376	2,266,000	148
" Moravia,	6,336	1,137,000	179
" Silesia,	11,520	1,800,000	157
" Lusatia,	2,880	400,000	136
	<u>191,571</u>	<u>25,700,000</u>	<u>134."</u>

CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.

The following particulars relative to the constitution and government of the German empire may be deemed a proper introduction to its history.

The German empire, says Zimmermann, may be considered as a combination of more than 300 sovereignties, independent of each other, but composing one *political* body under an elective head, called the emperor of Germany, or Roman emperor.—Eight princes of the empire, called electors, have the right of electing the emperor.—By a fundamental law, called the *golden bull*, the number of electors was limited to seven. Since that, two new electors have been added; one of which became extinct by the death of the elector of Bavaria in 1777.—The ecclesiastical electors are the archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne.—The temporal electors are the electoral king of Bohemia. The elector of Bavaria and of the Palatinate. The elector of Saxony. The elector of Brandenburg. And the elector of Brunswick Lunenburg, or Hanover.

The chief prerogatives of the emperor, in his character as lord paramount of the Roman empire, of whom the princes are supposed to hold their domains in fee, are the power of assembling the diet, in which he presides either in person or by his commissary, and of ratifying its resolutions. He is the supreme judge, in whose name justice is administered in the high courts of the empire: he can, however, exempt the subordinate states from the jurisdiction of these tribunals, by granting them the privilege *de non appellando*.—He is the fountain of honour.—But the Germans have been justly tenacious of the rights which relate to property, and their most material interests.—The emperor cannot levy taxes, nor make war, nor alter any law of the empire, without the consent of the diet, which may be considered as the supreme power of the empire.

The ordinary revenues of the emperor, as such, are trifling; not exceeding 20,000 florins. But in time of war or great emergencies, the diet grants him extraordinary aids, called *roman months*, valued at 50,000 florins each.

The diet is composed of the emperor and the immediate states of the empire.

empire.—This body exercises all the acts of sovereignty, as far as concern the interests of the whole confederate body; it levies taxes, it makes laws, it declares war and makes peace, and concludes treaties by which the whole empire is bound.—The whole body is divided into three colleges, which deliberate separately, and decide by majority of votes: viz. that of the electors; that of princes; and that of the imperial cities.—Before any proposition can be passed into a law, it must have the approbation of the three colleges: it is then called a *resolution* of the empire.—It must then be presented to the emperor for his confirmation; which, if obtained, constitutes it an act or statute of the empire, and, with the previous sanctions, gives it the force of a law.^b

There are two supreme courts of judicature, which have concurring jurisdiction in the Roman empire. (1.) The *imperial chamber*, held at Wetslar, consisting of a judge and two presidents, nominated by the emperor, and twenty-seven assessors or counsellors nominated by the states. (2.) The *aulic council*, depending entirely on the emperor, is established at Vienna, as his place of residence. It consists of a president and eighteen counsellors.—“ In all cases where the statute or fundamental laws of the
“ empire are defective, these two courts adopt the regulations of the
“ Roman law, which is in general introduced into the German courts of
“ justice, except where it is limited or superseded by the particular
“ statutes of each state. To both courts appeals may be made from the
“ decisions of the courts of justice, or of the sovereigns of the German
“ states. In criminal cases, in matters of religion, and in pecuniary law-
“ suits, in which the contested property does not exceed the sum of 400
“ rix-dollars, the decision of the territorial courts or of the sovereign is
“ final. In these cases, however, the party who thinks himself aggrieved
“ by a sentence, is allowed to submit the decision, given by the judges of
“ his own country, to the examination of the juridical faculty of one or
“ more impartial German universities, by which the decree may be con-
“ firmed or reversed. In the dominions of the electors and other princes,
“ who are exempted from appeals to the supreme courts of the empire,
“ courts of appeal are established in which the decrees of the courts of
“ justice, especially in causes between the sovereign and the subject, may
“ be revised, and if exceptionable, may be set aside.”^c The

^b Zimmermann. 114.

^c Idem.

The states of the empire, considered in their separate capacity, enjoy sovereign power in their respective dominions, limited only by the laws before mentioned and the jurisdiction of the imperial courts; from which, however, the chief among them are exempted.—The constitution of different states is different. As to the exercise of power in them, the sovereigns are limited by the states of their respective dominions; who must give their consent to taxes and laws; and who may appeal to the high courts of the empire, in case of any difference between them and their sovereign. In extreme cases, the states of the principality or city may lay their complaints before the diet.^d

SCIENCES AND LITERATURE.

The Germans are endowed with talents well adapted to the study of the sciences, and their attention to them has, in many instances, been eminently rewarded. In the age which succeeded the revival of learning in Europe they were distinguished for their attainments in those abstract sciences which were then so much cultivated, and in criticism and other branches of the belles lettres.—If Italy has the merit of affording an asylum to the literati who were driven from Constantinople on the conquest of the eastern empire by the Turks, Germany has that of producing the principal authors of the reformation, which opened the way to the dispersion of every kind of knowledge, by disengaging the minds of men from the trammels of superstition.—In the seventeenth century, Leibnitz and Wolffius were the rivals of Locke, Newton, and Des Cartes. And, in the present age, the Germans hold a high rank of celebrity as chemists and natural philosophers.

LIBERAL ARTS.

The Germans have attained a considerable degree of eminence in several of the fine arts likewise. Their painters, if we give them the honour of the Flemish school, are inferior to none but those of Italy. But music is the art in which they have most excelled in every age. If a genius for
it

^d Zimmermann, 118.

it does not so generally prevail here as in Italy, they have produced some composers whose style is equally original and equally sublime. Some of the earliest and finest compositions in psalmody are ascribed to Martin Luther: and Hasse, Handel, Graun, and the Bachs, will be admitted as worthy rivals of Corelli, Pergolesi, and the finest composers of the Italian school.

They have not, in the judgment of many, succeeded so well in the sister art, of poetry. In some of their most admired poems of the present day there is much of wild imagination: but neither in these, nor in their dramatic productions do the writers appear to have paid that attention to nature which is the groundwork of excellence in every branch of the fine arts.

ARMY OF THE EMPIRE.

"There is, properly speaking," says Zimmermann, "no standing army of the empire; but in time of war the states of the empire must furnish their respective quotas of soldiers, according to an agreement made in the year 1691. At present the army of the empire, when complete, must amount to 28,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. The quotas for the different circles are regulated as follows:

	" INFANTRY.	CAVALRY.
" Circle of Austria,	5,507	2,521
" Circle of Burgundy,	2,707	1,321
" Circle of Bavaria,	1,494	800
" Circle of Franconia,	1,902	980
" Circle of Suabia,	2,707	1,321
" Circle of the Lower Rhine,	2,707	600
" Circle of the Upper Rhine,	2,853	491
" Circle of Westphalia,	2,707	1,321
" Circle of Upper Saxony,	2,707	1,321
" Circle of Lower Saxony,	2,707	1,321
" Total,	<u>27,998</u>	<u>11,997. B."</u>

" In

" In case one million and an half of florins should be necessary to be
 " raised for the war and for the army of the empire, the shares of this
 " sum stand thus:

	" FLORINS.	KREUTZER.
" Circle of Austria,	306,390	20
" Circle of Burgundy,	156,360	15
" Circle of Bavaria,	91,261	5
" Circle of Franconia,	113,481	25
" Circle of Suabia,	156,360	15
" Circle of the Lower Rhine,	105,654	5
" Circle of the Upper Rhine,	101,411	30
" Circle of Westphalia,	156,360	15
" Circle of Upper Saxony,	156,360	15
" Circle of Lower Saxony,	156,360	15
" Total,	<u>1,499,999</u>	<u>40."</u>

PRODUCE AND COMMERCE.

The products of this extensive country are very numerous and valuable.—The following are the chief.—Corn and cattle of different kinds.—Wine is produced in several parts of Germany in great perfection; particularly in the palatinate of the Rhine, and the adjoining countries.—Salt is produced in great abundance. The Durnberg, a salt-work in the circle of Bavaria, according to Zimmermann, yields annually 750,000lb.—There are others of vast extent and value in Saxony, Suabia, and other circles.

Germany is very rich in minerals likewise.—The Hartz-mountains in Lower Saxony contains gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, zinc, cobalt, vitriol, and sulphur.—Silver is coined annually in the Upper Hartz, according to the same writer, to the amount of 600,000 dollars, and sometimes more: and the value of all the minerals of the Hartz amounts to near double that sum.—The mines of Upper Saxony are still richer: they have yielded 34,000lb. of silver in a year: and the celebrated Saxon cobalt, chiefly used
 in

in making the blue colour called smalte, is estimated to be nearly equal in value to the above quantity of silver.

The Germans are not advantageously situated for foreign trade. But they have a great variety of manufactures, many of which are excellent in their kind, and are in great request; such as the linen of Silesia and Saxony, and the porcelain and glass of Dresden and Berlin.

HEREDITARY

HEREDITARY STATES OF THE EMPEROR.

REVENUE.

THE emperor's revenue, according to Zimmermann, is as follows:

	" FLORINS.
" Of Bohemia,	15,736,069
" Of Silesia,	557,209
" Of Austria,	23,014,276
" Of Moravia,	5,793,120
" Of Stiria,	5,889,221
" Of Carintia,	2,386,884
" Of Carniola,	2,089,952
" Of Friaul,	357,368
" Of Tyrol,	3,658,712
" Of Austria Interior,	2,876,177
" Of Hungary,	18,004,153
" Of Transylvania,	3,941,707
" Of Lombardia,	2,909,171
" Of the Netherlands,	3,184,135."

If from this sum we deduct the revenue of the Netherlands and Lombardy, which are now lost to the house of Austria, it will bring the whole sum to 8,434,848 florins. And if to that we add 1,000,000 florins from Illyria, 300,000 from Buckowina, and 12,000,000 from Gallicia and Lodomeria, ceded to it by the first partition of Poland, it will be raised to 9,764,848 florins.—To this sum must also be added the revenue of the territories

territories secured to the emperor by his last treaty with the French republic.

The debts of the Austrian monarchy, according to Zimmermann, amounted to 200,000,000 florins at the time that he wrote. "In 1770," he says, "the public expenditure amounted to 83,500,000 florins, and was exceeded by the revenue by more than 6,000,000.^f

ARMY.

The emperor's army, according to the regulation of 1779, consisted of the following troops.

" Grenadiers,	13,182	
" Cavalry,	44,100	
" Artillery,	11,000	
" Croates,	} -----	40,000
" Wallachian,		
" Slavonian troops, ..		
" Pontoniers,	600	
" Mineurs,	640	
" Sappeurs,	280	
" Tchaikists,	1,200	
" Engineers,	200	St. T.

" There are besides the general, staff, or field engineers, &c."

In order to provide a regular supply of accomplished officers, the house of Austria has established a military academy for 400 cadets at Neustadt, a town situated a few miles from the capital. There is, moreover, an academy of engineers at Vienna; and each regiment has a school, in which forty sons of soldiers are educated.^g

PRODUCT AND COMMERCE.

The Austrian dominions have several natural advantages.—The fertility of the soil in many parts is very great, particularly in Hungary: it is not only

^f Zimmermann. 157.

^g Idem. 158.

only productive of the most luxuriant herbage, and proper for every kind of grain, but produces some of the finest wines in Europe.—They are also very rich in minerals.—Beside some gold, according to Zimmermann, Austria produces silver in very considerable quantities, quicksilver, salt, saltpetre, lead, copper, vitriol, cobalt, and sulphur. The lower division of that duchy produces 60,000 lb. of salt annually.—The emperor's Italian dominions are, in some parts, very fertile. Beside corn and rice, they produce a great quantity of silk: Lombardy is said to produce to the amount of 4,500,000 florins.—Hungary is said by the writer before mentioned to produce 25,000 lb. of silver annually. In 1779 the mines of Chemnitz and Cremnitz yielded 1,215 lb. of gold. The gold wash of the Bannat yields upwards of 1,000 ducats.—It is supposed that Hungary and Transylvania together produce gold and silver to the amount of 7,000,000 florins annually, 34,000 lb. of copper, beside iron, quicksilver and other minerals.—The total annual product of the mines in the Austrian dominions is computed to amount to 19,000,000 florins.—Hungary produces likewise hemp, flax, cotton, barilla, rice, and tobacco, and exports a great number of cattle of different kinds.—Beside other products of the provinces acquired by the partition of Poland, are those of the immense salt works of Wielitska in Galicia; which are 6,691 feet in length, 1,115 feet broad and 743 feet deep.—According to Mr. Coxe, these mines have been worked above 600 years.—Before the partition, they made a part of the Polish king's revenue; yielding him an average annual profit of 3,500,000 Polish florins, or £.97,222. 4s. 6d.^b *

To

^b Travels through Poland, &c. 1. 201.

* Mr. Coxe gives us the following very interesting account of these salt works. “ These mines are excavated in a ridge of hills at the northern extremity of the chain which joins to the Carpathian mountains; they take their appellation from the small village of Wielitska; but are sometimes called in foreign countries the mines of Cracow, from their vicinity to that city.

“ Upon our arrival at Wielitska we repaired to the mouth of the mine. Having fastened three separate hammocks in a circle round the great rope that is employed in drawing up the salt, we seated ourselves in a commodious manner, and were let down gently, without the least apprehension of danger, about an hundred and sixty yards below the first layer of salt. Quitting our hammocks, we passed a long and gradual descent, sometimes through broad passages or galleries capable of admitting several carriages abreast; sometimes down steps cut in the solid salt, which had the grandeur and commodiousness of the staircase in a palace. We each of us carried a light, and several guides preceded us with lamps in their hands: the reflection of these lights

“ upon

To balance these natural advantages of the Austrian dominions, they have several local disadvantages. The chief of these is their distance from the sea, and their want of a navigable communication with any port that is advantageous for trade.—The only navigable rivers in the hereditary states of the Austrian house are the Danube and the rivers that join it, which flow through ill-peopled countries, and fall into the Euxine, which does not afford them an easy communication with any country where they may find a vent for their products or manufactures.

A country so circumstanced requires every advantage that can be given it by art or policy to render it flourishing.—These the empress queen was disposed to give them: and her dominions would probably have experienced greater benefit from her beneficence and patriotism, had not her treasury been exhausted by war in the beginning of her reign.—In pursuance of this object, as soon as she had brought her first war to a conclusion, she devoted her attention to the improvement of her dominions.

MEANS

“ upon the glittering sides of the mine was extremely beautiful, but did not cast that luminous splendour, which some writers have compared to the lustre of precious stones.”

After giving an account of the salt found here, he proceeds in his description of the mines.

“ The mine appears to be inexhaustible, as will easily be conceived from the following account of its dimensions. Its known breadth is 1,115 feet; its length 6,691 feet; and depth 743; and the best judges on the spot suppose, with the greatest appearance of probability, this solid body of salt to branch into various directions, the extent of which cannot be known: of that part which has been perforated, the depth is only calculated as far as they have hitherto dug; and who can ascertain how much farther it may descend?

“ Our guide did not omit pointing out to us, what he considered as one of the most remarkable curiosities of the place, several small chapels excavated in the salt, in which mass is said on certain days of the year; one of these chapels is above thirty feet long and twenty-five broad; the altar, the crucifix, the ornaments of the church, the statues of several saints, are all carved out of the salt.

“ Many of the excavations or chambers, from whence the salt has been dug, are of an immense size; some are supported with timber, others by vast pillars of salt, which are left standing for that purpose: several of vast dimensions are without any support in the middle. I remarked one of this latter sort in particular, which was certainly eighty feet in height, and so extremely long and broad, as almost to appear amid the subterraneous gloom without limits. The roofs of these vaults are not arched, but flat. The immense size of these chambers, with the spacious passages or galleries, together with the chapels abovementioned, and a few sheds built for the horses which are foddered below, probably gave rise to the exaggerated accounts of some travellers; that these mines contain several villages inhabited by colonies of miners, who never see the light. It is certain that there is room sufficient for such purposes; but the fact is, that the miners have no dwellings under ground, none of them remaining below more than eight hours at a time, when they are relieved by others from above.”—*Travels into Poland, &c.* 1. 196.

MEANS OF IMPROVEMENT.

One of the greatest disadvantages under which the Austrian states laboured was the want of a population adequate to the cultivation of the land, and for deriving the possible profit from the various sources of wealth which the several countries contained. Hungary and Transylvania, over an extent of 92,112 square miles, had only 5,170,000 inhabitants, or sixty-five to a mile; though they were capable of finding employment and subsistence for four times that number.—To draw inhabitants into her dominions, the empress queen granted her subjects religious toleration: no less than 200 churches, according to Zimmermann, were allowed them.—She encouraged her troops to marry by granting privileges to married men, and assisting them in the bringing up and educating their children.—She used the most eligible expedients to prevent vagrancy, in order to render her people useful. There being, according to computation, 50,000 gypsies, or Egyptians, within her dominions,¹ to free the countries from this nuisance, she caused their children to be taken from them, and trained to useful employment at the public expence.

When the king of the Romans, on his accession to the imperial throne, was admitted to the co-regency in her hereditary states, he united with the queen in her labours for the public good.—As the most effectual means to increase population, he improved the condition of his subjects by relieving them from oppression. He gave the German princes an example of liberality by relieving the peasants on his dominions from the *corvees*, or labour on the roads, and other feudal services. He abolished slavery in his hereditary dominions.[†] He relieved his subjects in the Milanese from the tyranny of the inquisition, by abolishing that odious court. And that he might deter men from offences against the public peace and safety and establish good order in his dominions, whilst he was encouraging industry, he abolished the right of asylum, by which the churches and convents had been enabled to interfere with the execution of justice.—To encourage agricultural improvements, particularly in Hungary, he leased his lands at
easy

[†] 1781.

¹ Zimmermann. 160.

In 1764 the emperor revived the order of St. Stephen.—This was conferred either on military men or ecclesiastics; and consisted of an hundred knights, exclusive of the sovereign, the princes of the blood, and cardinals.¹

The elector of Saxony, following the emperor's example, in 1768 instituted the order of merit, to be conferred as the reward of military merit.

HANS

¹ Clarke's Knighthood. 1. 181. 83.

HANS TOWNS.

ALTHOUGH this confederacy has long since lost the power which it once enjoyed, and many of the towns which formed it are gone to decay, yet its former greatness may, perhaps, render some account of it satisfactory to such as are interested in commercial history; and the connexion it had with Germany recommends its introduction in this place.

According to Anderson, the word *hans* means a society or corporation united for their joint benefit.*—The precise era of the confederation does not appear to be known. Werdenhagen, who wrote their history, supposes it to have been in the year 1169; and that the league first consisted of the following towns, on the Baltic: Lubec, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Gripeswald, Anclam, Stetin, Colberg, Stolpe, Dantzic, Elbing, and Koningsberg.—The particular object of the confederation was to protect the confederates from such ravages as some cities had experienced from the Danes, and from the depredations of the pirates who infested the European seas.

One of the first rules of the confederacy was, that no city should be admitted into it, but such as were either situated on the sea, or on some navigable river, commodious for maritime commerce.—Another rule was, not to admit any cities which did not keep the keys of their own gates and exercise civil jurisdiction within themselves; yet it was admitted,

* He cites Lambecius, librarian to the emperor Leopold.—Werdenhagen makes the word a corruption of *an-der-see*, near the sea, alluding to the confederacy's first consisting of maritime towns.

• Anderson, i, 161.

mitted, that, in other respects, they might acknowledge some superior lord or sovereign.

Some years after the formation of their league, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, they chose for their protector the grand master of the German knights of the cross and his fraternity, who had, in 1212, made themselves master of Livonia and erected their government there.—Thus they laid the foundation of their future greatness by securing the trade of all the south-eastern side of the Baltic and the countries with which the Vistula and other rivers gave them a communication.^b—The members of the league held an extraordinary assembly every ten years, at which they solemnly renewed their union, admitted new members, and excluded old ones, if refractory, and transacted other matters relating to their general interests.

The whole confederacy was divided into four classes, over each of which a certain city presided.—At the head of the first, and of the whole confederacy, was Lubec; where their records were kept and their general assemblies were usually held. It presided over the Vandalic and Pomeranian towns.—Cologne was the head of the second class, and presided over the countries near the Rhine.—Brunswick was the head of the third; and presided over the cities of Saxony.—And Dantzic was the head of the fourth; and presided over the towns of Prussia and Livonia.^c

Such had been the progress of the confederacy in the course of a little more than a century, that in 1370, which Werdenhagen fixes as the epoch of their greatest prosperity, that it then consisted of sixty-four of the principal cities and mercantile towns in Germany and the countries bordering on the Baltic and German seas: and their annual contributions for their ordinary expences were 2,069 dollars.

Beside these sixty-four cities, &c. their historian gives a list of forty-four more which were only allies of the confederacy. Among these were the principal maritime places in England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Holland, Sweden, and Russia.

Beside the cities which presided over the several divisions of the confederacy, there were four others, where they had their four principal houses, called *comptoirs*,¹ or *compting-houses*.—The first of these was Bruges.

^b Anderson. 1. 162.

^c Idem. 162.

Bruges.—The next was Loudon; “ where they likewise had a stately and “ spacious college, called in latin *guildhalda teutonicorum*, and commonly “ named the steel-yard.”—The third was Novogrod in Russia.—And the fourth was Bergen in Norway.—

This league, in the zenith of its grandeur, gave laws to all the commercial world; and are said to have exercised their power, in some instances, oppressively towards those who were not of their confederacy.^d

The commencement of their decline may be dated from the year 1361, when Gothard Ketler, grand master of their protecting knights, resigned the part of Livonia which remained to his order to the crown of Poland, and received the sovereignty of Courland in compensation for it.

Various causes afterwards contributed to their decline. Among these was the opposition which they experienced from some of the principal maritime powers of Europe; who thought that this confederacy interfered with the trade of their subjects. In the reign of Elizabeth, there were frequent contests between them and the government on account of the rivalry between them and the English merchants.—The flourishing state of the Dutch trade was another cause of their decline.—Moreover, as their own shipping decreased and that of the several maritime powers was strengthened, they lost much of that weight which they had derived from the naval aid afforded by them to different states in time of war.^e—In the beginning of the seventeenth century their commerce and power were much diminished: and after that period we hear little of their weight in Europe.

PRUSSIA.

^d Anderson. 356. 60.

^e Idem. 1. 162 and 2. 116.

^f Idem. 2. 201 and 301.

PRUSSIA.

THE measures employed by Frederic the Second to promote the prosperity of his dominions by improvements in agriculture, by the advancement of manufactures and commerce, and the increase of population, are deserving our attention, not as simple facts only, but as evidences of the full extent of what may be done by a despot, who, during a long reign, devoted his time and his revenue, at least all that was not absolutely necessary for the purposes of government, to these objects. They will enable the reader, when thus connectedly placed before him, to compare the effects of such exertions with the natural results of a free constitution; to observe the essential difference between the advances made by the subjects of an absolute monarch, who may be considered as a principle of motion to his people, and on whom, therefore, all their movements must depend, and those of a free people, who are uniformly actuated by a principle of motion residing in the constitution itself.*

EXTENT,

* The advances made by the subjects of a despot may be compared to those of a body of men who should be taught to march with gyves on their legs. They could be taught to move with these embarrassments, no doubt; but not so commodiously or so gracefully as they would do without them. And thus may the subjects of a despot make advances in agriculture and manufactures under his auspices; but they will not display that energy in them which is observable in the movements of a free people, with large capitals, the possession of which is secured to them by the laws. The former may have every security that a wise and beneficent monarch can give them: but he may die, and be succeeded by a monarch of a different character: whereas the laws of a free nation cannot be altered without their own consent.

EXTENT, POPULATION, AND AGRICULTURE.

The territories of his Prussian majesty are so dispersed, and so irregular in their figure, that it is very difficult to ascertain their extent. Zimmermann speaks with doubt concerning it. The greatest extent which he gives it is 64,000 square miles. The population he sets at 6,000,000; or 104 persons to a mile.

This estimate is taken from baron de Hertzberg's dissertation delivered to the academy of Berlin in 1785, eleven years after the first partition of Poland.—After speaking of the increase of population under his three predecessors, who availed themselves of the persecution of the protestants in France and the Palatinate to people their dominions, he states, that the number of persons at the accession of Frederic in 1740 was 2,230,000.*—We are, however, to observe that Frederic had added to his realms not only the portion of Poland ceded to him, but Silesia, a rich and fertile province which he conquered from the house of Austria, the population of which was estimated at 1,582,000 persons upon an extent of 10,240 square miles, or 154 to a mile.

The minister then proceeds to represent the means employed by his sovereign to augment his population; and he very justly states agriculture to be the proper basis of it, as it provides employment and subsistence to the inhabitants of a country, while it adds to their number.—He says, that the king had already reclaimed 120,000 acres of land from the state of a morass on the banks of the Netze, the Wartha, and other rivers: that he was at present employed in draining an equal extent in the Old Marche: that he had built 539 villages in these reclaimed districts, the inhabitants of which he estimated at 215,000 persons:† that, not satisfied with setting his nobility and others an example of such profitable and patriotic undertakings, he had lent them large sums of money to enable them to make such improvements on their estates.

The same statesman informs us, that one of the expedients employed by his sovereign to prevent a famine in case of a scanty crop, was to establish immense magazines of corn, to supply his troops, should he take the

* Dissert. de Hertzberg. 207.

† Idem. 191.

the field, or to sell to his subjects, should there be a scarcity.—This is necessary in such a country as Prussia. But in Great Britain the same purpose is answered by the stocks of corn which the affluence of the farmers enables them to keep by them, and that, too, without the damp which would be given to agriculture by the idea of an ability in the sovereign to sink the market whenever he should think proper.—In weighing the merit of beneficent actions we are apt to pay more regard to the immediate than the remote effects of them.

One of the means which the king employed for the improvement of his demesnes, he informs us in his memoirs, was the inclosing of common lands.—There were in Brandenburg and other parts of his dominions vast districts which were almost absolutely unproductive. Large tracts of such land were sown with turnips, which were left to rot, as a manure: after which the land was converted to pasture by sowing it with trefoil and grass seeds. By these means he added considerably to the product of cattle.

COMMERCE AND MANUFACTURES.

Among the advantages for which the Prussian dominions are indebted to Frederic the Second, was the increase of their foreign trade. At the commencement of his reign it scarcely deserved notice. But, such were the advances which it made under his auspices, that in 1785, according to Herzberg, their fisheries and foreign trade employed twelve hundred vessels of all sizes, and 12,000 seamen.

To facilitate trade in all its branches, the king, in 1765, granted letters patent for the establishment of a bank and a chamber of insurance at Berlin. About the same time he granted a charter to a Turkey company, and renewed that of the Embden company; enabling it to trade to all parts of the East Indies.

These establishments having been adverted to in the year 1765, we may proceed to the manufactures erected by his majesty, the success of which was much greater than that of his efforts to extend the foreign commerce of his subjects, for this reason, probably, among others, because they

^c *Oeuvres de Fred. II. v. 5.*

they were less liable to be hurt by the restrictions and monopolies with which the latter was embarrassed.^d—The following is the general account given of them by Hertzberg to the academy of Berlin. After speaking of the effects of his agricultural improvements, “If the king,” says he, “has augmented the population of his dominions by bringing waste lands into a state of cultivation, he has increased it still more by the great number of manufactures which he has established at Berlin, Potsdam, and almost every city and town in his states. It would require a volume to give a particular account of them all, and of the sums which he has applied to these purposes. I shall, therefore, be content to say, that we have almost every possible manufacture, and that we not only supply the Prussian dominions, but very distant countries, Spain and Italy, for example, with linen and woollen cloth; and even China with our Silesia linen, which are carried through Russia to that distant country. We export annually linen cloth to the amount of 6,000,000 crowns, and woollen cloth to the amount of 4,000,000. These articles, when added to the iron and copper produced by the march of Brandenburg, which amount to one million of crowns, to the corn, flax, and timber exported from Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Prussia, and to the important trade of Poland, which is carried on through our ports of Memel, Königsberg, Elbing, Dantzic, and Stetin, ensure a very considerable balance in our favour. These manufactures must necessarily draw a great number of foreigners into the Prussian states, and add much to their population. There are in all his majesty’s dominions 123,000 manufactories in silk, linen and woollen cloth, cotton, copper, and other branches; the product of whose goods amounts to 16,000,000 crowns, of which about half is exported. Allowing only four persons for each manufacturer’s family, our manufactures find subsistence for 500,000 persons, or a twelfth part of the population.”^e

In another dissertation, the minister adverts particularly to the product of the mines in his sovereign’s dominions. “These,” he says, “which were scarcely in being in 1768, enabled them to export to the amount of 234,000 crowns in iron, copper, lead, cobalt, vitriol, coal, and
“ other

^d Towers. 2. 357.

^e Dissertation de Hertzberg. 195.

" other products, beside making a saving of 500,000 crowns in our home consumption."†

In another dissertation he enumerates the different sums expended by the king in agricultural improvements, in bounties for the encouragement of them, in establishing and promoting manufactures and erecting buildings for carrying them on and houses for the workmen, and other public uses, during the last year of his life, the sum total of which amounted to 2,901,756 crowns.*

Among other obstructions to commerce before Frederic came to the throne was the difficulty of conveying materials and merchandise from different parts of his extensive dominions. To remove this, and facilitate trade, he improved the navigation of several rivers, and caused several canals to be formed, the great utility of which will be obvious to any one who, after attending to the description of them in the note, shall observe the course of the rivers which they were to connect, and the situation of the countries between which they were to open or improve the intercourse.*

JUDICIAL

* We have the following account of the canals in the Prussian dominions in Busching. " The canal of Plauen shortens the water-passage between Berlin and Magdeburg by about one-half, and was carried on, by order of king Frederic the Second, till finished; that is to say, from June 1, 1743, to June 5, 1745, under the direction of the engineer Mahistre. It begins near Parei on the Elbe, intersects the Ihle and the Stremme, having three sluices on it which check the fall of the water out of the Elbe into the Havel, which is twenty-one feet in height, and promote its passage; after which it passes on by Plauen into the Havel. This canal is 8,655 perches, or four German miles and a quarter, in length; being beneath generally twenty-two; above, that is to say, at the surface of the water, twenty-six, and in some places between forty and fifty, feet broad, with bridges laid over it at nine different places. The Spree and Oder are joined by means of a new canal which was ordered to be cut by the elector Frederic William, and completed between the years 1662 and 1668. This canal issues out of the Spree into the lake near Mulrose in the Middle-Mark, and from thence runs partly along the Schlubbe, partly through it and into the Oder, being three German miles in length, five Rhein-land perches broad, and six feet deep. The Havel and Oder are joined immediately by the canal of Finow. This canal begins at Liebenwalde in the Havel, passes on into the river Fino, or Finow, and below Lower-Fino runs into the Oder. King Frederic the Second caused it to be completed between the years 1743 and 1746, and on it are thirteen sluices. The Oder canal runs out of the Oder from the village of Gustebiese to the prefecture of Nuenhagen, falling again near Wutzo, or about one German mile below Oderberg into the Oder. This canal was opened in 1753."—*Busching*. 5. 627.

† Dissertation de Hertberg. 138.

* *Idem*. 265.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

Among the measures adopted by Frederic the Second for the public good we must not omit to mention the improvements in the judicial system under the direction of his chancellor, Coceius, and the code of laws framed by that able and upright lawyer. The design was to form a consistent digest of laws, to simplify and expedite legal processes, to render them less expensive, and, as much as possible to prevent abuses.† —This reform is said to have produced salutary effects during the reign of the monarch who was the author of it, and especially during the administration of the minister who was his instrument in it: but what the eventual effect of such simplification and such dispatch will be under other circumstances remain to be proved.

SCIENCES AND LITERATURE.

Frederic the Second is well-known to have been the companion of men of science and learning: he was the historian of his own reign: and Voltaire does him the honour to say, that some of his verses were pretty well written *for a northern king*.^a

The sciences experienced his regard and patronage.—A royal academy of sciences and belles lettres had been founded in the reign of the first king of Prussia, under the auspices of his queen, Sophia of Brunswick Lunenburg, a princess of distinguished talents, who prevailed on Leibnitz to accept the appointment of president.—It had been neglected during the reign of Frederic William the First, who had no taste for letters. But Frederic the Second, in 1743, restored the academy; caused a fresh body of institutes to be drawn up; and, three years after, placed Mau-pertuis at the head of it.‡¹

Frederic would have had much greater merit as a German patriot, if, instead of adopting the French language, he had endeavoured to improve his own vernacular tongue.—By his contemptuous neglect of this, and other

† In 1746.

‡ In 1743.

^a Memoires de Voltaire. 157.¹ Towers's Memoirs. 1. 179. 260.

other evidences of his dislike of whatever was *German*, he disgusted his countrymen, and enabled his successor to court popularity by discovering a taste for German literature, and granting favours to writers who had contributed to its repute.^k

REVENUE.

Zimmermann states the king's revenue when he wrote, which was after the first partition of Poland and before the second, as follows:

" From the electorate, or march, of Brandenburg,	6,500,000	dollars
" From Prussia,	4,500,000	
" From Pomerania,	2,000,000	
" From Magdeburg and Halberstadt,	2,000,000	
" From Westphalia,	2,000,000	
" From Silesia,	6,000,000	
	<hr/>	
	" 23,000,000	dollars."

We cannot but be surprised that with this revenue, which does not much exceed £5,000,000, Frederic should have been able not only to answer the ordinary expences of government, and to maintain an army of above 2,000,000 men, but to expend vast sums in the improvement of his demesnes and the establishment of manufactures, and to advance very large sums to his nobility and towns. He tells us in his memoirs, and his representation is supported by correspondent accounts, that he had advanced 800,000 crowns to the nobility of Silesia, for the payment of debts incurred by the war of 1756: 500,000 crowns for Pomerania and Brandenburg on the same account, and 500,000 more to enable the proprietors to restore their lands to a state of cultivation: to the town of Landshut 200,000; and sums to nearly the same amount in the aggregate to other towns.—He had, moreover, expended very large sums in the repair of his fortresses, and had deposited 900,000 crowns at Magdeburg and 4,000,000 at Breslau, for the supply of his magazines: and he always had a large sum in his treasury to answer contingencies.

To

^k Segur's *Fred. William*. 1. 25.

To account for this small expenditure, we may observe that the expences of his court, especially during the latter years of his reign, were comparatively small: that it had not the gaiety and brilliancy of other courts, nor the embellishments with which they are adorned; that although the muses were admitted there, the graces were excluded:* that the expences of the military establishment were not in proportion to the nominal greatness of it: that the pay was very low in comparison with that of other states.**¹ By the system of alternate service the number of men in the pay of government in time of peace is comparatively small: and by the system of recruiting which his despotic power enabled him to practise the expence attending that department in a free country was entirely avoided. "The king's dominions," says a writer upon this subject, "are divided into a certain number of cantons, each of which is obliged to raise a certain number of men. Not only each regiment therefore, but each company has its particular district: and at the
" age

* The king's attention to economy in his personal expences, and other matters which he did not deem essential to greatness in the eyes of the world or fame with posterity, is exemplified in the article of dress. "Nothing" says Mr. Wraxall, "can be so simple as his dress, which never varies. It is indeed scarcely exempt from the imputation of meanness, and by no means always entitled to the praise of cleanliness. His coat is a plain uniform of common blue cloth, without ornament or embroidery of any kind. On his breast appears the star of the Prussian order of the 'Black Eagle;' but he very rarely wears the ribband, or other insignia. He is always booted, as becomes a soldier; and those who see him constantly, have scarcely ever beheld his legs. Round his middle is tied his sash. Charles the Twelfth of Sweden might have worn Frederic's sword, without departing from the characteristic simplicity of his dress. It is a military one, perfectly unornamented, with a plain silver hilt, to which hangs a sword-knot. His hat is of a monstrous size, surmounted with a white panache or plume. Either economy, or carelessness, or both, induce him to wear his clothes as long as decency will permit; indeed, sometimes, rather longer. He is accustomed to order his breeches to be mended, and his coat to be pieced under the arms. It was an unusual mark of attention to the great duke of Russia, when he was here last year, that the king made up a new uniform suit and hat, in honour of so illustrious a guest. To complete the negligence of his appearance, he takes a great deal of snuff, and lets no small portion of it slip through his thumb and fingers, upon his clothes. It must be owned that this custom gives him sometimes almost a disgusting air, yet, across so much neglect and contempt of external forms, I think one may easily, without any aid of imagination, perceive the hero, the philosopher and the king."—*Wraxall's Memoirs*. 108.

** The pay of a Prussian soldier, according to Dr. Towers, was only two-pence-halfpenny a day when he wrote.

¹ Towers's *Memoirs*. 2. 497.

"age of sixteen every peasant, mechanic, merchant or citizen, has his name inserted in the war-list of his canton, and is obliged, when called upon, to join the regiment or company to which his district belongs."^a—Dr. Moore says "that, whatever number of sons a peasant may have, they are all liable to be taken into the service, except one, who is left to assist in the management of his farm."^a—Such a system of constraint, accompanied with low pay and the severity which must be practised to bring men to that perfect state of machinery which is the object of German discipline, must necessarily dispose them to desert: but how is this possible? "The moment a man is missing," says the author before mentioned, "a certain number of cannons are fired, which announce the desertion to the whole country. The peasants have a considerable reward for seizing a deserter, and are liable to severe penalties if they harbour him, or assist in his escape."^a

What a picture is here of a despotic government! How wretched would the subject of a free state have felt himself could he have been transplanted at once to a country where his natural rights and his life were at the devotion of a monarch who, with signal talents as a statesman and a soldier, had the cold heart of a politician who was insensible to the endearments of human nature.

It ought here to be remarked, that, although the king's revenue was small when compared with the vast army which he was able, at any time, to bring into the field, with his vast undertakings for the advancement of the national prosperity, and the weight which he had among the powers of Europe, yet it was great when considered with a view to the abilities of those on whom the greater part of it was levied, to the sources from which it was drawn. A great portion of his dominions consisted, at his accession, of lands in an unimproved state: and a great part of these were the property of a nobility who were too poor, to improve them. Silesia was laid waste twice in the course of his reign; and all his dominions once. He gave money to some of his nobles, and advanced it as a loan to others, to enable them to restore and improve their lands. But, even supposing the sums to be properly applied, a considerable

^a Observ. on the Prussian Military Estab. 2p. Towers. 2. 493.
^a View of Society, &c.

^a View of Society, &c. 2. 200.

considerable period of time must pass over, before the effects of their improvements could be sensibly felt, or a considerable revenue could be derived from them.—The manufactures which the king had established, however productive they may be at some future period, were yet in their infancy, and could not, during his reign, have added very materially to the national wealth and resources.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the taxes required to raise such a revenue were oppressive to his people.—To facilitate the levy of them, he simplified his financial system; and, to render them more productive, he employed French tax-gatherers, who were not so likely to be induced, by common interest or common feelings with those who paid them, to connive at evasions.—Whatever the effect of this regulation might be on the revenue; it was fatal to the popularity of Frederic's government. The country immediately swarmed with French officers of finance and French agents in every inferior department; the king's subjects were reminded of their sovereign's want of confidence at every toll-bar; and the evils of oppressive taxes were aggravated by the insolence of those who were employed to collect them.*

After enumerating the means employed by Frederic for promoting the prosperity of his realms, a regard to impartiality required that the reverse of the medal should be shewn. By these statements the reader, who is not provided with better sources of information, will be enabled to

* "It was an established maxim with Frederic the Second to burthen with as few imposts as possible the necessities of life, and to lay the heaviest load upon its luxuries. The produce therefore of the taxes upon land and houses was comparatively small, and the chief revenue arose from the duties of customs and excise. In an open country, accessible in every part of its frontier, these duties might be easily evaded; and a door was every where open to smuggling, which without the most rigid and watchful attention, could not be prevented. This made it necessary to keep up an army of excise officers, known in that country by the detested name of the *regie*, who overrun the country like a swarm of locusts, and harassed the traveller intollerably. As it was supposed that the natives, who were connected with one another by many endearing ties, might be too indulgent in executing the revenue laws, the directors of the *regie* took into their pay a set of French vagabonds, who having no interest to keep up their national character of politeness, commonly used their petty authority with the utmost degree of insolence and severity. At entering or leaving any town above the rank of a village, these pestiferous animals fell upon the traveller, and either detained him by a tedious and vexatious search of his baggage, by which a great part of it might easily be spoiled, or obliged him to pay for a free passage by a bribe, the frequent repetition of which in a long journey, might amount to a considerable sum."—*Preface to Latrobe*. 17.

to form some judgment of his merit, and may be prevented from being enamoured of the charms of despotism.

THE ARMY.

The following is the statement of the Prussian army as it was in the year 1783:

	“ INFANTRY.	CAVALRY.
“ In Brandenburg,	46,488	4,187
“ In Prussia,	33,947	12,229
“ In Pomerania,	12,670	8,430
“ In Magdeburg,	16,907	3,790
“ In Westphalia,	13,990	
“ In Silesia,	40,168	13,860
	“ 164,170 .	42,496
	“ 42,496	
“ Total,	206,666.”	

We may form an idea of the exertions required to provide supplies of men during the seven years' war from this statement in his majesty's memoirs: that “the victory of Prague had cost him 20,000 men. We “may add to this, that we had, at the close of the war, 40,000 Austrian “prisoners in our hands, and that they had nearly as many of ours; “among whom were three hundred officers.” In another place, the king tells us, “that the war had cost him, in all, 180,000 men, beside “33,000 who had suffered from the ravages of the Russians.”^p

For these ends it was necessary to pursue a regular system, and to devote a great part of his attention to these objects.—He founded a *military academy* at Berlin, under his own inspection, with the best masters that could be procured to teach the pupils the different sciences necessary to accomplish them in the art of war, and also in all the living languages. || —There were only fifteen of these: and they were treated as well as educated

|| About 1765.

^p Memoires de Fred. II. v. 4. 408. & 5. 158.

educated in all respects as gentlemen.¹ We are told by Latrobe, in his *Anecdotes of Frederic*, that it was a maxim with him to prefer young men of noble birth for officers, on account of the high sense of honour which he found in them.

The *school of noble cadets* was another establishment of a similar nature. This admitted three hundred and fifty cadets.—It being a seminary to provide subaltern officers, the plan of education was altogether military: and the pupils were, in general, taken from among the sons of the poor nobility.

That the business of training the recruits drafted to fill his defective regiments might be properly attended to, he placed a general officer of experience over each department. These were to practise and teach the whole art of war, agreeably with a book of instructions given them by his majesty, upon the subject of tactics, choice of positions, &c.—In their reviews, every evolution that could be necessary in a field of battle was put in practice, that neither the officers nor soldiers might be at a loss under whatever circumstances they might be required to act. Moreover, that he might be satisfied that every part of his orders was duly executed, the king had his annual reviews, in which the generals, officers, and troops were called upon to perform their respective parts under the eye of their sovereign.—And thus was a period of peace a preparation for war.

Had any one observed Frederic's attention to his troops and the art military, he might well have imagined that Machiavel's sentiment had really been adopted by him, "that a prince was to have no other design nor thought nor study, but war and the arts and discipline of it."² But it has been evinced in his measures relative to domestic government that his comprehensive mind and versatile genius enabled him to blend the statesman with the warrior, and to reconcile a close attention to the arts of peace with improvements in the art of war.—When we see so much of the essentials of greatness in this prince, we cannot but lament the want of worth, we cannot but regret that his character had not been rendered truly deserving the imitation of posterity by the accession of moral and religious principles to his eminent talents.

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¹ *Observ. on the Mil. Estab.* 43. ap. Towers. 2. 356.
² *Machiavel's Prince.* 218

³ *Mem. de Fred.* II. 5. 158. 63.

 DENMARK.

REMARKS ON THE GOVERNMENT.

THE least attention to the situation of Denmark will shew us the great natural advantages which it possesses as a commercial state. And the comparatively small quantity of land which is capable of cultivation strongly recommends that the government should direct its chief attention to the advancement of manufactures and commerce as the only means of giving the people that wealth, and the state that weight in the scale of Europe, which the nature and extent of their dominions deny them. The kings of Denmark from the accession of Frederic the Fourth, in 1699, have in fact made this the grand object of their policy. But the despotic power which was vested in the sovereign by the revolution of 1660 counteracted the measures which they adopted for that purpose. Several of their monarchs in the course of the last century appear to have had the good of their country at heart; but no one has had the grace or the wisdom to confer such a constitution on their people as is absolutely necessary as the groundwork of every other expedient to render them prosperous.—Molesworth, who was perfectly well acquainted with the state of the kingdom a century ago, informs us in his excellent account of Denmark, a work which is replete with just remarks and breathes a liberal spirit, that, since the revolution before mentioned, the kings “ have ever since been absolute and “ arbitrary; not the least remnant of liberty remaining to the subject. All “ meetings of the estates in parliament entirely abolished; nay the very “ name of estates and liberty quite forgotten, as if there never had been “ any such thing; the very first and principal article of the present Danish “ law

"law being, that the king has the privilege reserved to himself to explain the law, nay, to alter and change it, as he shall find good."—The effect of this miserable system of arbitrary government, as described by the same writer, is very deserving our notice. "It is easy," says he, "for a considering person to guess the consequences of this; which are frequent and arbitrary taxes, and commonly very excessive ones even in times of peace, little regard being had to the occasion of them; so that the value of estates in most parts of the kingdom is fallen three fourths. And it is worse near the capital city, under the hand and eye of government, than in remote provinces: poverty in the gentry, which necessarily causes extremity of misery in the peasants: partiality in the distribution of justice when favourites are concerned; with many other mischiefs, which are the constant effects of arbitrary rule."—The cause of the revolution in Denmark, it is well known, was the disgust excited in the peasantry and others by the oppression of the nobles; upon which Molesworth makes the following observation. "The commons have since experienced that the little finger of an absolute prince can be heavier than the loins of many nobles; the only comfort they have left them being to see their former oppressors in almost as miserable a condition as themselves; whilst all the citizens of Copenhagen have by it obtained the insignificant privilege of wearing swords."^a

The ill effects of this system is exemplified at a subsequent period of the Danish history.—When Frederic the Fifth ascended the throne, in 1746, that benevolent prince and his queen, Anne daughter of George the Second of England, endeavoured to advance the prosperity of their realms by bringing foreign manufacturers into them, in order to improve those already established in them, and to introduce new ones. They were at great expence in the purchase of machinery and materials, and in the subsistence of the manufacturers, till they could be maintained by their own labours. But their design proved in a great measure abortive. Those who were in his majesty's confidence availed themselves of his easy temper to frustrate his project. His prime minister and favourite, a needy German, made his majesty's bounty a means of enriching himself. This he did by transmitting a small part only of the sums granted to the manufacturers, and receiving

^a Molesworth's Denmark. 31.

^b Idem. 47.

receiving of them, through the hands of his agents, receipts for the whole.^c

A despot may shew his benevolence by adopting such expedients to ameliorate the condition of his subjects. But the measures themselves will ever be liable to abuse, and can have no general and permanent effect.—Liberty is the mainspring of the whole economical system, whether we regard agriculture, manufactures, or commerce; and, if this be wanting, all its movements will stop as soon as the hand is removed which may give them a forced and temporary motion.

The following are the principal measures adopted by the Danish monarchs to palliate the evils of this wretched system.—In 1753 Frederic the Fifth encouraged agriculture among the Norwegians by giving premiums to such as should contribute to its advancement.—He, at the same time, granted £16,000 as a bounty to the Iceland fishery.—He, moreover, issued an ordinance, forbidding the importation of wrought silk.^d

As a further means to promote agriculture, the king in 1754 sent proper persons into England, Flanders, and other countries, to instruct themselves in the practice of that art.^e

In 1755 his majesty established an African company, with a capital of 500 actions, each action consisting of 500 rix-dollars,^f divided between thirteen adventurers.^g

In 1758 Frederic the Fifth invited foreigners to settle in the waste districts of Jutland by grants of land: and a great number of Germans, preferring subjection to an oppressive government with land to oppression without land, were induced to accept his proposals.^h

To promote trade, the king declared the ports in his two islands of St. Thomas and St. John in the West Indies to be free, under certain restrictions.ⁱ

Christian the Seventh's administration was at this time distinguished by some measures which shew that he was not destitute of patriotic intentions, and that his reign might have been more prosperous, had his weak understanding

† In 1768.

^c Williams's Northern Governments. 1. 589. French edition.
^e Anderson's Denmark. 2. 119.
^h Smollet. 5. 235.

^f 4s. 6d.

ⁱ Anderson. 4. 47.

^d Gent. Mag. 144. 243.
^g Busching. 1. 74.

standing been assisted by better counsellors.—On his return from his tour through France and England, in 1769, he instituted a royal society of agriculture. He founded hospitals for disabled seamen and soldiers. And he declared Gluckstadt, at the mouth of the Elbe, a free port.^k

In 1775 the Danish East India trade was declared free, on the payment of a duty of eight per cent.^l

The canal of Kiel, a work which promises to be of great benefit to the neighbouring parts of Germany, Denmark, and the Baltic states, was begun in 1777.—Mr. Coxe gives us the following account of it. “The canal begins about three miles north of Kiel, at the mouth of the rivulet Lewensawe, which heretofore separated Holstein from Sleswick, and will form a new boundary between those two duchies. The distance from its beginning to the last sluice at Rendsburgh is twenty-seven English miles; but as the Eyder is navigable about six miles and three-fourths above Rensburgh, and only requires to be deepened in some places; the cut which is necessary for the completion of the water communication between the two seas is only twenty miles and a half.”^m

The same author enables us to form some idea of the extent of the trade which the Norwegians carry on in deal, and the profit derived from it. “The environs of Christiania not yielding sufficient planks for exportation, the greatest part of the timber is brought from the more inland parts. The trees are hewn in the forests, and floated down the rivers and cataracts. Saw-mills are used for the purpose of cutting the planks, but must be privileged, and can only cut a certain quantity. The proprietors are bound to declare on oath, that they have not exceeded that quantity; and if they do, the privilege is taken away, and the saw-mill destroyed.”

“There are 136 privileged saw-mills at Christiania, of which 100 belong to the family of the Ankers. The quantity of planks permitted to be cut, amounts to 20,000,000 standard deals, twelve feet long, and one inch and a quarter thick.”

“For the encouragement of the Greenland fishery, his Danish majesty in 1785 issued a proclamation for encouraging foreigners,
“ as

^k Ann. Regist. 8.

^l Idem. 164.

^m Travels through Poland, &c. 5. 301.

ⁿ Anderson. 4. 598.

MISCELLANIES.

" as well as natives, to embark in the whale and seal fisheries from that
 " kingdom to Greenland, Iceland, &c. by which a bounty of fifteen rix-
 " dollars per Danish commercial last (or about thirty shillings sterling per
 " ton, British measurement) was offered to persons choosing to embark in
 " that trade from the said kingdom; to be paid down in cash before the
 " ship is fitted out, on security being given that such vessel or vessels
 " shall be ready, and do sail on that errand, (wind and weather permitting)
 " at the time appointed in the royal proclamation."

REVENUE.

Zimmermann gives the following statement of the Danish revenue:

	" DOLLARS.
" Denmark,	3,106,000
" Norway,	1,600,000
" Sleswick and Holstein,	1,328,000
" Oldenburg, Delmenhorst, and Ploen,	390,007
" West India islands,	133,000
	<hr/>
	" 6,557,007
	<hr/>
" <i>The king's private chatouille.</i>	
" The custom of the Sound,	700,000
" From the town of Altona,	18,000
	<hr/>
	" 718,000."

The debts in 1771, according to the above authority, were 15,000,000 dollars.

ARMY.

According to the new plan of 1785, says Zimmermann, the number will be as follows. Cavalry 6,073 men.—Infantry 33,475 men.—For Norway 36,715 men, including cavalry, artillerymen, &c. making a total of 75,263 men.

The expence of this establishment amounts to 1,663,922 rix-dollars.—
 To

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To provide a supply of officers for it, a military school has been established at Copenhagen.

NAVY.

In 1779 the Danish navy consisted of the following ships.—Thirty-one ships of the line. Nine of 50 guns. Twenty-one frigates. Beside which there are sloops, bombs, and fire-ships.—Of these twenty-five ships of the line and fifteen frigates were then fit for service: nor did it appear that this force was augmented in the year 1801.—There is an academy at Copenhagen for the education of naval men.*

EXTENT AND POPULATION.

The whole of the Danish dominions have a population of 2,500,000 persons, including the colonies, upon 782,400 square miles.—Of that number Denmark proper has 1,125,000. The islands 450,000. Jutland 400,000. Sleewick 248,805. Holstein 210,000. Norway 720,000.—Such is the vast extent of uninhabited country, or nearly such, that the population is averaged by Zimmermann at only twelve to a square mile.

SWEDEN.

* Zimmermann. 77.

SWEDEN.

NATIONAL CHARACTER AND GOVERNMENT.

THERE is no nation who have more of the essentials of greatness than the Swedes. In their persons they are robust and active; in their temper and disposition high-spirited, brave, and persevering, and they are invincible to hardships in the path of glory:—It might reasonably be expected that such a people would hold the highest rank among the nations of Europe. In fact they have proved that they merit that distinction by the fame which they have acquired whenever they have had a monarch who was worthy to govern them.

Political circumstances, not moral defects, have been their impediment. All the revolutions which have taken place in this kingdom, and the evils which have befallen the nation, may be observed to have originated in the want of a constitution which has a proper balance of power among its constituent parts.—Gustavus Vasa, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, relieved them from the oppression of Christian the Second, the cruel tyrant under whose dominion they had groaned. But that illustrious patriot did not use the proper means to prevent a return of the misery from which he had redeemed his countrymen, by giving them a well-constituted government.—After his death, the kingdom again became a scene of confusion, and continued so, with little intermission, till Gustavus Adolphus restored good order among them, and led them to military glory in his wars in Poland and Germany.—Unfortunately, whilst the Swedes were sharing with their monarch in his triumphs, nothing was done towards such a reform in the constitution as might secure them personal comfort

comfort and national prosperity.—Falling at the battle Luthen, where he was maintaining the cause of the German protestants, he was succeeded on the throne by his daughter queen Christina. That celebrated princess being a minor at her accession, the aristocracy acquired such an ascendancy in the state as was a perpetual cause of vexation to herself, and so disgusted the nation that they suffered Charles the Eleventh to establish absolute power in the crown, to free themselves from the oppression of the nobles.

In the reign of his son, Charles the Twelfth, they experienced the evils of this revolution. But they endured the calamities incident on war because they feared his power, they respected his manly, heroic character, and they were, perhaps, flattered with the fame of his achievements.—When he had ruined the kingdom by his mad enterprises, they availed themselves of the vacancy which his death, without issue, left in the throne to invest his sister, Ulrica Eleanora, with the sovereignty, and to make such terms with her as they deemed a sufficient security for their liberty. But the same rooted evil, a want of sufficient property and weight in the commons to balance the power of the nobles, still continued to be the curse of Sweden. The poverty of the commons exposed them to influence, and the venality of the nobles subjected the senate to the reproach of being ever subservient to some foreign power. The odium and contempt which these circumstances, aggravated by the abuse of authority, brought on the nobles enabled the late king to re-establish a government in which the royal power was predominant, though liable to considerable restraints.

There were, we are informed, several thousands of families at this time in Sweden who claimed the privileges of nobility;* or, if we consider that they had not adequate fortunes, may rather be said to be embarrassed by the disqualifications of it. Born with ideas that led them to think it unbecoming their rank to improve their property by profitable occupations, they sought a substitute for independent income in pensions for dishonest services.

These circumstances enable us to account for the slow progress which the Swedes have made in agricultural improvements and commercial wealth;

* Williams's Northern Governments. 2. 318.

wealth; for the small weight which they have had among the European powers from the time that Charles the Twelfth acquired a transient greatness by his eccentric enterprises.

EXTENT AND POPULATION.

The population of Sweden is estimated by Zimmermann at no more than 2,924,550 persons upon about 216,000 square miles; viz. 2,100,000 for Sweden proper. Nordland 150,000. Finland 624,000. The Swedish part of Pomerania 100,550.—This does not exceed fifteen to a square mile. Of this population Stockholm contains about 80,000.

According to an account given Mr. Coxe by Mr. Wargentin, of the accuracy of which he had no doubt, the population of Sweden in 1752 amounted to 2,215,639 persons: in 1776 to 2,671,949: in 1781 to 2,767,000.—From this statement he fairly deduces “that the country was “gradually recovering from the exhausted state to which it had been “reduced by the wars of Charles the Twelfth;” the population having increased 551,361, or a fifth part of the present number of inhabitants within the space of thirty years.^b

REVENUE.

The revenue of this crown, in 1772, according to Zimmermann, amounted to 11,089,122 silver dollars; the public expenditure to 11,466,125 silver dollars; and the national debt, at that time exceeded the sum of sixty millions of dollars. Since the late revolution, he says, the revenue has been increased by appropriating to the crown the lucrative monopoly in spirituous liquors, which is estimated at above 7,000,000 silver dollars.—Mr. Tunberg, according to him, estimated the ordinary revenue in 1784 at 4,000,000 rix-dollars.—The king's private purse is estimated at 200,000 rix-dollars.

Under these circumstances of the Swedish crown, it was a most fortunate circumstance for the Swedes that their late enterprising monarch was succeeded by his minor son, under the regency of the duke of Sudermania, whose good sense led him to observe a neutrality during the present

^b Coxe's Travels. 4. 140.

present contest in Europe, that he might retrieve the finances of the state and afford the nation an opportunity to extend their trade.

ARMY.

The Swedish army in 1784 consisted of 50,421 men.—They consist of the following standing troops, always on duty: the king's foot guards, 2,800. Seven regiments of infantry, 5,960. Chasseurs, 400.—The cavalry consists only of 300 hussars and 200 light dragoons.—Beside these, there are 25,125 infantry, and 6,900 cavalry, called national troops, which are on the plan of a militia; the former supplied and maintained by the peasants, and the latter by the nobility.

NAVY.

The navy of this crown consists of twenty-five ships of the line: from twelve to fourteen frigates: fifty galleys.—Some new ships, Zimmermann says, were building when he wrote: and it was intended to augment the navy to thirty ships.—Beside the seamen, whose number varies according to the exigencies of the state, there are two regiments of marines kept, consisting of 1,400 men.

SCIENCES.

The sciences, especially those which have natural history in its several branches for their object, have been cultivated with great success in Sweden. They had been patronised by several of the Swedish monarchs: and they obtained a more permanent establishment in 1739; when a society was formed by Linnæus and five other men of science, at Stockholm, for their advancement, which was incorporated two years after, with the king's patronage, under the denomination of the royal academy of sciences.*

In the mean time, the university of Upsal was becoming celebrated from the advances made in natural philosophy under the auspices of the same most benevolent, respectable and illustrious philosopher.—The discoveries

* Cox. 4. 56.

coveries and benefits derived from the labours of himself and other academicians were communicated to the world in a work, published at different times, entitled *Amœnitates Academicæ*.—The repute which this work, and others which have resulted from the researches of Linnæus, particularly his Botanic System, gave great repute to the school of philosophy in which he presided; and this has been continued and improved by those who followed, particularly by Bergman, who filled the chair of chemical professor.⁴

POLITE ARTS, AND BELLES LETTRES.

The polite arts and belles lettres have partaken with the sciences in the patronage of the Swedish monarchs.—In 1753 the queen instituted an academy for the study of them at Drottningholm, and granted prizes for those who excelled in them.—The late king gave a testimony of his understanding and taste by his encouragement of eminent artists. Among these was Mr. Sergell, a statuary, who, after studying sometime at Rome at his expence, settled at Stockholm; where he gave several specimens of his art, in the antique manner, which did him great credit.⁵

AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE.

If we reflect on the history of Sweden during the three last centuries, and the present state of property in this country we cannot be surprised that agriculture, manufactures, and trade do not flourish here.—The landed property is nearly all in the hands of the nobility, the generality of whom have neither industry nor enterprise enough to induce them to struggle with the difficulties which oppose the commencement of every kind of improvement.—There are several branches of trade which might be extended with a prospect of much profit to the undertakers. But the Swedes themselves want the capitals required for that purpose: and it cannot be expected that foreigners will be ready to bring their capitals to a country which is in so unsettled a state, and where so many revolutions have taken place in the course of an hundred and fifty years.

Sweden

⁴ Coxæ's Travels. 4. 202. 17.

Idem: 4. 75.

Sweden is, however, rich in some of its products. That of corn, from an unkind soil and unskilful husbandry, is not equal to the consumption. But their exports in timber, pitch, and oil are very considerable; and their mines are very valuable. "Gold is found at Adelfort, in the province of Smaeland, to the amount of 850 ducats; but the expences of working this mine exceed the profits: a small quantity of gold is found in Westmanland. The mines at Sala, in the same province, produce silver to the amount of upwards of 600 lb. There are also silver mines in Dalecarlia and Northfinnland. The total amount of the silver obtained from the Swedish mines, in 1774, was 2,700lb. The copper mines at Falun and Garpenberg, in Dalecarlia, are very rich: the exportation of copper does, however, not exceed 6,000 ship-pound. Of the iron found in Nerike, Upland, Dalecarlia, &c. 320,000 ship-pound are exported. Sweden produces 35,000 lies-pound of saltpetre, 5,500 tons of allum; and it has likewise vitriol and sulphur works. The value of the whole of exported minerals amounts to 2,800,000 German dollars: the exportation of wood is valued at one million; and that of tar, pitch, and potash, at 300,000 German dollars. Sweden exports also peltry, or furs of grey squirrels, bears, wolves, foxes, ermines, martins, rein-deer, gluttons, &c. in great quantities. All the exported goods amounted, in 1768, to upwards of 13,000,000, and the imports to little more than 10,000,000 of silver dollars." *

Zimmermann, from whom the preceding statement is taken, informs us, that

* The following concise history of the Swedish trade is given us by Busching. "A few centuries ago there were no manufactures established in Sweden. The Hans Towns not only exported unwrought iron and copper from this kingdom, but likewise the ore of those metals, which they sold again to the Swedes, when they had wrought them into various tools and utensils. The inhabitants of the coast of Sweden were all fishermen, and the towns had no artificers. In the reign of Gustavus Vasa the Swedes first began to work their metals, and even their wood at home; and towards the middle of the seventeenth century they began to set up all sorts of manufactures in Sweden; but most of the hands they employed were foreigners, particularly Hollanders and Flemmings. In the year 1641 a glass manufactory was erected here. The following manufactures and trades were also established in the succeeding years, namely the starch manufactory in 1643; that of tin in 1646: booksellers' shops in 1647; needle and silk manufactures in 1649; leather-dressing and soap-boiling 1651; sawing-mills in 1653; iron and steel manufactures in 1654; sugar-baking in 1661; and the woollen and silk manufactures flourished above all the rest: but in the wars under Charles the Twelfth manufactures in general fell to decay. In the reign of Frederic the First all sorts of mechanic trades and manufactures

"revived

that there is an East India company in Sweden, which has advanced three millions of dollars to the crown, and pay a duty to the king on every voyage: that there is also a Levant company: that the bank of Sweden is a loan and paper bank: and that its profits are estimated at between two and three millions of dollars annually.—Moreover that the crown owed this bank in 1772 above forty-five millions of silver dollars.^f

PUBLIC WORKS.

Notwithstanding the want of money in the state and nation, some very great works have been undertaken by them.—One of the most remarkable of these is the canal of Trothætta, intended to form a navigable communication between the Baltic and the German seas.—The design, according to Mr. Coxe, was first conceived by the illustrious Gustavus Vasa. His perfect acquaintance with the interior parts of the country, where he had sought a retreat during his adverse fortune, probably concurred with his greatness of mind to suggest it.—Some steps preparatory to the execution of it were taken by several of his successors. Charles the Twelfth approved a plan laid before him by Polhem, a celebrated engineer, and caused the work to be entered upon under his direction. Had that monarch expended the money which his war cost him in the prosecution of this undertaking, it would probably have been accomplished: and his spirit of enterprise would have enriched instead of impoverishing and ruining his people.—Parts of the plan were executed at different periods, particularly in the reign of Adolphus Frederic, under the administration of count Tessin; but

with

revived once more. The breeding of sheep was also regulated and encouraged; tobacco was planted; foreign artists and manufacturers were allowed the free exercise of their religion; and other useful regulations were made in Sweden. It was resolved by the states at the last diet, which was held 1752, to give all possible encouragement to new manufactures that should be set up in this kingdom. There are at present in Sweden manufactories of silk, cloth, cotton, fustian, and other stuffs, linen, sailcloth, morocco leather, cotton-printing, dying; and also for boiling or refining of alum, sugar, soap, and salt; making glass, porcelain, and brimstone; here are also paper-mills, boring-mills, stamping, &c. Vast quantities of copper, steel, brass and iron, are likewise wrought in Sweden. Here are also founderies for great guns, &c. Forges for fire-arms, armours, anchors, &c. Wire and flatting mills, &c. However the Swedes are not completely skilled in the working of metals.”—*Busching*. 1. 259.

^f A silver dollar according to *Busching* is one shilling and sixpence three farthings, sterling.

^g *Zimmermann*. 56.

with little prospect of a completion. It was carried on by the late king, and a sluice upon such a scale as to take vessels of eighty tons burthen was finished in 1768.^b—New obstacles presenting themselves, the original plan was laid aside, and another was projected; which will, probably, never be completed till a better system of government shall have led to an extension of the Swedish trade, and have rendered the state and nation more affluent. *

Another of these works are the docks of Carlsroon.—These were begun by Charles the Twelfth, under the direction of Polhem; and were completed, as far as the original plan extended, in 1724.—They have since been enlarged; and were of the following dimensions when Mr. Coxe inspected them: 190 Swedish feet in length; 33 in depth: and 46 in breadth.—They contain 300,000 cubic feet of water, and are usually emptied in ten hours.

Mr. Coxe informs us that new docks have been begun upon a stupendous plan.—He also says “that the project, begun in 1797, was much neglected till the accession of the present king, who warmly patronised the arduous undertaking. At the commencement of the work,” he says, “£25,000 was annually expended upon them; which sum has been lessened to about £6,000 per annum; and the number of docks reduced to twenty.”ⁱ—Mr. Coxe wrote during the reign of Gustavus the Third; at whose death these works were probably discontinued.

RUSSIA.

* Mr. Coxe, who had viewed these works, has given a minute description of them, accompanied with a chart which renders it much more easily comprehended.

^b Coxe. 4. 303. 315.

ⁱ Idem. 4. 339.—The number intended was thirty.

 RUSSIA.

EXTENT AND POPULATION.

WE may form an idea of the vastness of the Russian empire from this circumstance, that, according to Zimmermann, an author of repute who wrote in 1784, it comprehends fifty different nations, speaking as many different languages, or at least dialects. The European part is stated by him to be 1,194,976 square miles in extent, and the Asiatic to be 3,695,024, making together 4,880,000 miles.

Happily for the peace and independency of Europe, its population is not proportionate to its extent, nor its strength to its population.—Before the last partition of Poland, in 1794, it was estimated by Zimmermann and Levesque at 24,000,000 souls.—Mr. Coxe estimates the population at 26,764,360, including in that number 200,000 nobles, 120 clergy and their families, 250,000 merchants and their families, 80,000 Kuban and Crim Tartars, and 600,000 wandering hordes.^b This brings the population to about twenty persons upon a square mile in the European part, and a far smaller proportion in the Asiatic.—When we compare this with the population of other countries, and consider that the strength of a state is generally increased by the compression of its population,* Russia will cease to be seen in so formidable a light as its extent alone would represent it.—Peter the Great and the late empress endeavoured

* Had the population of the Dutch provinces been dispersed over twenty times the extent of country, the Dutch would not, probably, have been able to defend themselves against the arms of Spain.

^a Zimmermann's Polit. Survey. 28.

^b Travels in Russia. 3. 343.

endeavoured to increase the population of their dominions, by offering lands and privileges to such foreigners as would settle in them. But their labours appear to have been attended with little success. Voltaire estimated the population at 24,000,000 persons in the reign of Peter the Great. And the repulsive force of tyranny, aggravated by delegated power at a distance from the seat of government, operating as a counterbalance to the allurements of Russian privileges and lands in desert countries, has prevented any material increase.

REVENUE.

The revenue of Russia was much augmented in the course of fifty years.—Voltaire estimates it at 13,000,000 roubles, or 65,000,000 livres, in the year 1725.—Mr. Coxe estimates it 41,880,910.*—And Levesque in 1783 estimates the revenue which is ascertained at 36,765,000 roubles; beside a very considerable revenue from sources which are not ascertainable.†

ARMY.

The Russian army has received a great increase even since the war between the Czar and Charles the Twelfth.—Stralenberg, who wrote about the end of Peter's reign, gives this account of his army after the termination of that war. Forty-eight regiments of *regular* infantry, the number of men in which he does not give. Forty-four regiments of *irregular* infantry, amounting to 63,360 men.—The cavalry consisted of thirty-three regiments, making 31,680 men. And the artillery amounted to 798 men.‡—Zimmermann represents the whole army in 1784, which was a year of peace as amounting to 368,901, besides the body hussars.—And Mr. Coxe's statement of the force in 1785 is exactly correspondent with this. But the latter author informs us that, the real number of effective men always falls short of this nominal list. "That the Russians can seldom bring into the field more than 100,000 effective men."§

NAVY.

* Levesque. 8. 137. Coxe. 3. 346.

† N. B. Voltaire's rouble is five livres and Levesque's three livres and fifteen sols.

‡ Stralenberg's Descript. of Russia. 306.

§ Zimmermann. 43. Coxe. 3. 365.

NAVY.

It is well known that Russia did not exist as a naval power till the time of Peter the Great. But that illustrious monarch, convinced that the future greatness of his empire must depend on its having access to the Baltic, and its becoming a maritime power, laboured indefatigably to accomplish these objects. He not only procured able ship-builders and engineers; but he travelled through Holland and England, and even condescended to work in the dock-yards, that he might make himself perfectly well acquainted with the practical part of naval architecture. After which he first learned the art of war of Charles the Twelfth, and then made his way to the Baltic by defeating him.—At the close of his reign, we are informed by Stralenberg, he had on the Baltic thirty-six ships of the line, twelve frigates, nine yachts, and two hundred and forty galleys. The same number of galleys lay in the magazines ready for construction, with their rigging and stores. And three ships of the line and one frigate were upon the stocks.*

The Russian monarchs made no great advances in augmenting their naval force in the next fifty years. According to Mr. Coxe, "the navy of Russia, in the ports of Baltic and Archangel, consisted, in the latter end of 1778, of thirty-eight ships of the line, fifteen frigates, four prames, and one hundred and nine galleys."^b—It is probable, however, that, as Peter the Great never sent a fleet further than the Baltic or the Euxine, and as Mr. Coxe's account is subsequent to the grand expedition to the Mediterranean, by the Straits of Gibraltar, Catharine's ships were larger than the emperor's.

COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, &c.

Russia, being on the frontiers of Europe and Asia, appears to have been one of the lines of commercial intercourse between them in very remote ages.—According to Stralenberg, the Russians in the earliest periods of authentic information, when Petersburg was a morass, and even before Novogorod

* Stralenberg. 308.

^b Travels in Russia. 3. 357.

Novogorod became celebrated as the seat of commercial wealth, had two marts or staples. One of these was at the ancient city of Ladoga, near the lake of that name, which made a centre of commerce between the countries on the south of the Euxine and the Finlanders, the Goths, and other nations near the Baltic. The Syrian, Arabian, Grecian, Cimbrian, and Roman coins found there, corroborate the traditional accounts of this trade.—The other mart was at the city of Tzardyn in the province of Great Permian, which lies on the east of the Wolga and the province of Kasan. The merchandise of the east was brought over the Caspian and up the Wolga and the Kama, which falls into that river near Kasan; thence it was conveyed a few miles, over land to the Petchora river, which falls into the North Sea between Nova Zembla and Archangel.¹

Since this period, several of the Russian monarchs, particularly the illustrious Peter and the late empress, have endeavoured to improve the trade of their dominions, and to introduce manufactures into them. But, although their efforts have not been altogether unsuccessful, they have found the same obstacles to commercial advancement as to the increase of population. Whatever is done, relative to these matters, in a country governed by a despot, is done *invita Minerva*. Their encouragements have only a *local* or *partial* effect in counteracting the *general* tendency of their despotic principles of government.

Independently of these political bars to advancement, the circumstances of Russia are not favourable to manufactures. These require the associated energies of a great number of persons; and cannot be carried on to advantage where the population is widely dispersed.

From these natural and political circumstances it appears to have arisen that Russia has succeeded better in foreign trade than manufactures. A widely dispersed population is favourable to the collection of those natural products which make almost the whole of their exports; and it requires but a small capital to be a collector of skins, and turpentine, and wax. But no manufacture can be established without considerable expense: and no man of common sense and prudence will bring his capital into a country where his person and property are not secured by the laws. Therefore, till some sovereign shall ascend the throne whose liberal
and

¹ Strahlenberg. 110.

and enlightened mind shall lead him to give his people freedom, though Russia may have considerable foreign commerce, it never can be flourishing in manufactures.

The natural products of Russia, for foreign trade, are very numerous and valuable. We may form some idea of them from the following statement. —“ In 1781,” says Zimmermann, “ there were exported, from the harbour “ of Petersburg alone, 428,877 skins of hares, 26,904 skins of grey squirrels, 1,354 of bears, 2,018 of ermines, 5,689 of foxes, 300 of wild cats, “ besides those of wolves and of the suslic (a beautiful animal of the rat “ kind;) exclusive of the exportation of the same articles from Archangel, “ Riga, and the Caspian Sea. In one year there were exported from “ Archangel 783,000 pud of tallow (a pud is equal to 40lb.) 8,602 pud “ of candles, and 102 pud of butter. In 1781, from Petersburg 148,099 “ pud of red leather, 10,885 pud of leather for soles, 530,646 pud of “ candles, 50,000 pud of soap, 27,416 pud of ox-bones, 990 calveskins.”—The same author informs us “ that the Kirgis and Bashkires “ carry on a great trade in horses and camels; and that there are individuals among them who possess sometimes 2,000 of the former.”—Wax is another great article of trade. “ The export in this article in “ 1768 amounted to 72,000 roubles. Yet the vast quantities of honey “ produced by the wild bees of Astracan, Kasan, and Orenburg is not “ sufficient for the inland consumption; honey being generally used “ instead of sugar.”—Timber is another very great article of export. “ In 1768 the value of timber exported amounted to 585,000 roubles, “ pitch and tar 82,000 roubles, potash, 37,000, masts 59,000 roubles.”—They export, beside, a great quantity of corn, tobacco, leather, hemp, and flax.

Russia is, moreover, very rich in minerals of many different kinds. It has not only those of copper, iron, and isinglass, but of gold and silver. * *

(*Agriculture.*)—The empress Catharine appears to have been thoroughly

* The reader may find a minute account of the products of the gold and silver mines of Russia in Mr. Coxe's Northern Tour.

* Zimmermann. 31. 33. 34.

roughly impressed with a persuasion of the importance of increasing the population of her dominions, and providing employment for her people by promoting agriculture and trade. Early in her reign,† she issued a manifesto, inviting foreigners into her dominions, pointing out certain districts destined for them; making specific regulations respecting them; and instituting what was called the *tutelary chancery* for their protection.*

In the same year Catharine encouraged the culture of tobacco in the Ukraine by issuing an edict declaring the trade in it free.*

(1765.) Knowing their sovereign's ardent desire to promote agriculture, prince Orlof and some other nobles set on foot a society to encourage improvements in it.†

That she might provide persons qualified to instruct her subjects in agriculture, the empress sent young men into England and other countries to instruct themselves in the practical part of it.—Moreover, that agricultural improvements might be carried on more systematically, she formed an establishment for that express purpose, under the direction of Mr. Samborski, a clergyman, who had studied agriculture in England, and had attended the grand duke on his tour in 1799, that he might have opportunity to make his remarks on the different systems of husbandry in different countries.—A farm of a thousand acres, at Sophisk, near the palace of Tzarsko Tzelo, is assigned for their experiments; where Mr. Samborski and the young men who have been educated in England are settled.‡

To facilitate improvements of every kind by her subjects, and particularly that of land by her nobility, the empress established a loan-bank at this time,‡ with a capital of 33,000,000 roubles; empowered to emit bills, which should have the currency of money, to the amount of an hundred millions more. Of the capital fund 22,000,000 were to be lent to the nobility for the term of twenty years, upon mortgages on their estates, at five per cent interest, beside three per cent annually towards the discharge of the debt.¶

(*Foreign Trade.*)—The following interesting facts afford us an idea of the

† In 1763.

‡ In 1785.

* Tooke. 1. 320.

• Idem. 350.

¶ Cox. 3. 273.

¶ Idem.

¶ Tooke. 3. 21.

the foreign trade of Russia.—Notwithstanding Petersburg was become the chief mart for the European trade, yet we are informed by Levesque that 180 Dutch vessels arrived at Archangel in the year 1773, and a greater number of Hamburgers and Dantzickers.*

Mr. Coxe informs us that the whole trade of Petersburg in exports and imports in 1777, with the English and other nations, was in exports £.2,400,000. In imports £.1,600,000: balance in favour of Russia £.800,000. The British share in this trade was, he says, exports £.1,508,782.—Imports £.423,942: balance £.1,084,839.

From the following statement of the exports and imports of Petersburg by Mr. Tooke, it is evinced that the trade of Russia was rapidly progressive in the latter years of the empress Catharine:

YEARS.		IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
1780	8,600,000	10,900,000 roubles.
1785	10,000,000	13,400,000 ditto.
1789	15,300,000	18,700,000 ditto.

The same author estimates the whole trade of Russia, both exports and imports, at 50,000,000 roubles, and that of Riga, the next place in the commercial scale, at 6,000,000 roubles.†

From Mr. Coxe's statement it is evident that the trade with Great Britain is very advantageous to Russia. It is also very beneficial to Great Britain. For although the pecuniary balance is against her, yet it is to be observed that, in exchange for the native products of Russia, the collecting and preparing of which employ comparatively few hands, she sends the Russians her manufactures which employ a great number.

(*Canals.*)—Among the expedients used by the Russian emperors for promoting trade, and remedying in some degree the inconvenience and disadvantages arising from the vast distance between the several provinces of their empire, was inland navigation.—It is somewhat extraordinary, considering the small progress which the Russians had made in other improvements in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the many circumstances that retarded them, that they were among the first monarchs who

* Histoire de Russie. 8. 129.

† Tooke. 1. 26.

who had recourse to canals. But Peter the Great was on the throne; and they were deemed essential to the prosperity of his country.

So early as the year 1698, Peter, on his return from England, brought with him, among other artists, captain Perry, an engineer.—Brackell, a German, had undertaken to make a canal from the Don, which falls into the Euxine, to the Wolga, which falls into the Caspian, where, by a bend in each, these rivers approach within 100 English miles of each other, but he had failed of success.—Perry was ordered to survey the ground; and, on his pronouncing the design to be practicable, he was employed to execute it.—It was to be done by a canal to form a communication between the Lavla river, which joins the Don, and the Camishinka, which falls into the Wolga, and by sinking the beds of these rivers, and rendering them navigable. He had 10,000 men allowed him, to carry on his undertaking. Yet, such were the natural obstructions which he had to encounter, that, after working three summers, the plan was not near completion. And either the czar's financial embarrassments occasioned by his war with the Swedes, or an ill opinion of an undertaking in which the expected progress had not been made, induced him to desist from it.*—Perry was then employed to improve the navigation of the Don and the docks at Woronetz; in which he rendered himself very serviceable to the czar.

After the czar had brought the war to a glorious issue by the victory of Pultawa, a more useful work than the preceding immediately engaged his thoughts.—He had built Petersburg to give the Russians a free intercourse with Europe. But much inconvenience was experienced from the want of an easy communication between that emporium and the fertile, southern provinces of his empire.—With a view to this, Perry made a survey of three lines between lake Ladoga and the Wolga.—One of these was chosen: but the execution of it was retarded by the renewal of war, and Perry did not remain in Russia to superintend it.—According to Mr. Coxe, who has given us a very minute account of this arduous and most beneficial work, it was completed under the reign of Peter the Great. It was done by the canal of Vishnei Voloshok, which extends from the Twertza river, that joins the Wolga at Twer, and the Shlina, which, after passing through lakes Mastino and Ilmen, under the name of the Volkof River joins the Ladoga canal

* Capt. Perry's State of Russia, 2.

canal near the lake of that name.*—The latter canal, which is sixty-seven miles in length and seventy feet broad, we are informed by Mr. Tooke, was intended to avoid the dangerous storms and whirlpools which the vessels had to encounter in passing from the mouth of the Volkof across the Ladoga lake.—It was begun by the czar Peter and was finished by the empress Anne in 1730, under the direction of count Munich,[†] and completes the navigable communication between the Baltic and the Caspian.

Nothing can give us a grander or more advantageous idea of commerce than the effect of it in this instance. By the completion of these canals, which were much improved by the empress Catharine, a communication was formed not only between the northern and southern provinces of Russia, but between Europe and the extreme parts of the east. By means of them, with the intervention of somewhat more than 200 miles of land-carriage, the inhabitants of each quarter of the globe were mutually accommodated with each other's product and manufactures.—We may form an idea of the extent of the trade carried on by these canals from the following statement of Mr. Tooke. "The number of vessels," says he, "which, according to a ten years average, from 1774 to 1784, came by the Ladoga canal to Petersburg was 2,861 barks, 797 half-barks, 508 one mast vessels, 1,113 chaloups—in all 5,339. Add to these 6,739 floats of barks."

PUBLIC WORKS AND UNDERTAKINGS, AND INSTITUTIONS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE.

The Russian monarchs, in the course of the last century, have shewn a very laudable zeal to improve their subjects by knowledge and civilization; and to promote their welfare, whilst they derived honour to themselves, by affording them the means of information.

In the year 1753 an university and two seminaries were founded at Petersburg under the auspices of the empress Elizabeth.

In 1764 the empress Catharine, improving upon a plan projected by Elizabeth, of founding a convent for noble ladies, instituted an academy for

* Cox. 3. 445. 50.

† Tooke, 1. 201.

‡ Idem. 1. 22.

for the daughters of her nobles and others, and endowed it with an income of 16,000 per annum. The foundation is for 200 children of nobles and 240 of the lower orders.

(*Voyages.*)—The Russians have shewn a very enterprising spirit in their voyages of discovery in the North Seas. The voyage made by Bearing and his companions, in 1740, for the discovery of a north-east passage, although it proved fatal to that bold adventurer, had the good effect of leading to discoveries in the North Seas. “The inhabitants of “Kamtschatka,” says Levesque, “were less deterred by their misfortunes, “than they were tempted by the beautiful skins of sea otters, which they “found on these seas, and sold at a high price to the Chinese.”—The chain of isles, situated between 56 and 60 degree of latitude, called Lissié Ostrova, or Isles aux Renards, were discovered in 1758; and three years after, a cluster of isles were discovered, lying on the north of the Aleoutiennes, and making, together with these and the Isles aux Renards, a chain extending almost from Kamtschatka to the continent of America.*

From the commencement of her reign, the empress discovered a determination to prosecute the laudable design formed by Peter the Great, of diffusing knowledge among her people, as the only effectual means of civilization.—The sciences were the peculiar object of her patronage. Her illustrious predecessor had, in 1724, founded an academy of sciences at Petersburg. The plan was completed by Catharine the First, his dowager; who settled £4,982 per annum for its support, and placed the two Bernoullies and other celebrated foreigners at the head of it.—The empress Elizabeth augmented its income to £10,659.—And Catharine, considering it as the centre of that system by which she meant to disperse light throughout her dominions, made it the object of her peculiar care and her bounty.—Under her auspices several of the most celebrated naturalists in Europe were employed in researches respecting the geology, natural history, and geography of the Russian empire. Gmelin, Guldenstaedt, Pallas, and Lepekin, names most honourable in themselves, will ever reflect honour on their patroness.

That they might pursue these investigations with greater effect, the empress repeatedly bestowed large sums on the academy to enable it to send

* Levesque. 8. 108.

send men of science into the remotest parts of her empire, which were yet imperfectly explored.^b

In 1768 doctor Gmelin visited the borders of the Caspian, and the neighbouring province of Shirvan. But, as he was passing through the territories of Usmei Khan, a petty Tartar prince, he was arrested and thrown into prison, where he soon died.

Guldenstaedt, who left Petersburg the same year, was more fortunate.—After he had explored the borders of the Caspian, he carried his scientific researches into the neighbouring parts of Asia, and visited the court of Heraclius prince of Georgia; and was enabled by the hospitality and friendly offices of that prince to pursue his inquiries with much success in his dominions and the parts adjoining.—After that, he revisited the country near the Euxine and Caspian seas, and paid a particular attention to the regions of Mount Caucasus.—Having passed through the Ukraine, he returned to Petersburg in 1775.^c

The empress expressing a desire that her astronomers should make their observations on the transit of venus, which was to take place in 1769, Pallas undertook to conduct the expedition for that purpose in the south.—This not only afforded him an opportunity of investigation in natural history, which was his particular province, but of making remarks on whatever is deserving of notice in the south-eastern provinces of the empress's dominions.—In this expedition he visited the rich silver mines of Kolyvan; where he was gratified with an opportunity of seeing the natural phenomenon of the freezing of quicksilver.—The character, languages, manners, and other particulars relating to the inhabitants of the countries through which they travelled could not but attract the notice of a philosopher. The Mongols made an especial object of his curious remarks. He differs in opinion from those who class them indiscriminately among the Tartars; and proves satisfactorily, from their features, language, and government, that they are a distinct race. He supposes that when the dominions of Zinghis Khan fell to pieces under his successors in the sixteenth century, the Mongol and Tartar hordes, who had composed one empire, again separated, and have since continued distinct.—Pallas did not return to Petersburg till 1774.^d—Any person who is desirous of further information

^b Cox. 3. 190.

^c Idem. 3. 273. 81.

^d Idem. 3. 260. 67.

information respecting these expeditions may find it in Mr. Coxe's northern Tour; from which valuable repository the writer has drawn some of the most interesting particulars relative to the northern states.

Catharine's endeavours to acquire information relative to her own dominions, and to make new discoveries, did not terminate here.—In 1785 baron de Valchen Stedtz was sent to explore the country in the regions near the Euxine and the Caspian, particularly Mount Caucasus: and, that the naturalists, engineers, and draftsmen who accompanied him might accomplish the purposes of their expedition without being exposed to the same danger which others had experienced, they were attended by 810 chosen men.

The ensuing year, ¶ colonel Blumayer was dispatched, with a number of navigators and artists, to make further discoveries on the eastern coasts. With that view they were to embark at the mouth of the river Anadyr, which empties itself into the Eastern Seas near the straits which divide America from the extreme north eastern point of the Russian empire.*

The discoveries already made exciting a desire of prosecuting them, an expedition was undertaken in 1787, by advice of Mr. Pallas, to explore that Archipelago which had been so often the object of their researches, lying off the eastern coast of Kamtschatka, and between that peninsula and Japan.—It was conducted by captain Billings, an Englishman, who had accompanied captain Cook.—Agreeably to his instructions, he made choice of a place for a harbour and dock, where vessels might be built for those who might in future be led to traverse those seas, either for discovery or with mercantile views.—A fact said to have been ascertained by this navigator is well deserving our notice, because, if admitted, it is decisive of the question of a practicable north east passage. “ Regularly
“ every spring immense herds of reindeer, thousands and ten thousands
“ strong, come over to the open plains on the Asiatic side, to avoid the
“ insects of the close, damp American woods, and as regularly go back
“ every august, feeding on the moss of the intermediate islands in their
“ passage.

“ Now, as that is the very time when the continued action of the
“ summer's

¶ In 1786.

* Tooke. 3. 131. 33.

“ summer’s heat must have opened the sea, if ever it did thaw; an open
 “ passage is out of all probability; and indeed Billings gives it as his
 “ opinion, that the thickness of the ice, every where, (except just about
 “ the mouths of large rivers, whose warmer waters make a partial opening
 “ as far as they extend,) is such, that a ten years continued summer would
 “ scarce reduce it to a fluid state.”

Nothing sets the strength and greatness of the empress’s mind in a more striking light than the number of important objects to which she gave her attention.—Whilst the great affairs of foreign politics, the means of forwarding the welfare of her dominions by her arrangements with other powers, and her schemes of aggrandizement, seemed to engross her thoughts, she was attentive at the same time to the execution of the grand design which she had formed for the better regulation of the civil government of her dominions and the administration of justice. This was done by dividing her empire into forty-three governments or viceroyalties; whereof thirty-eight were in Europe and the remainder in Asia, each of which is subdivided, and has its subordinate magistrates.—“ Each viceroyalty has a general governor, a governor, and a government administration; in which, beside these two personages, two counsellors have seats. Subordinate to these, are a court of justice, a finance chamber, a superior country-court, a viceroyalty magistrate, &c. The circle has also its court of judicature; likewise a ward or guardian office, a land-surveyor, a rent-master, a physician, a surgeon; in the cities are magistrates; in the towns, common-councils; in both, oral-courts of judicature, &c.”

Whilst she was thus providing for the better governing her people, she was endeavouring at the same time to make them capable of being governed, by giving them information, and gradually wearing away that ferocity of character which had marked their ancestors.—“ The public institutions for national improvement now flourishing,” says Mr. Tooke, “ owe their origin, for the greater part, but all of them without exception their enlargement and melioration, to the late empress Catharine.

“ The following list shews the revenues of the public places of education, and the number of pupils boarded, clothed, and taught at the imperial expence.

“ The

RUSSIA.

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	PUPILS.	ROUBLES.
" The land cadet-corps has	700	200,000
" Sea cadet-corps,	600	120,000
" Artillery cadet-corps, ...	445	121,722
" Grecian cadet-corps	200	41,613
" Page cadet-corps,	65	
" Medicine and surgery school,	30	
" Land and sea hospital school,	100	16,000
" Mine cadet-corps,	70	15,000
" Clerical seminary,		
" Gymnasium of the academy,	65	
" Academy of arts,	325	60,000
" Theatre school,		
" Navigation school,	65	
" Young ladies' school, ...	480	180,000
" Popular and normal schools,	3,200	
" Education-house,	300	
" Orphan-house,	100	

" According to this imperfect survey, therefore, in the numerous places
 " of education here named, about 6,800 children of both sexes in the
 " residence are brought up at the expence of government. The sums
 " set down amount to 754,385 roubles per annum."

POLAND.

CONSTITUTION AND STATE OF PROPERTY.

POLAND being no longer an independent state, we are chiefly interested in knowing the causes of its decline and final dissolution.—Its history exemplifies in a very striking manner the fatal effects produced by a form of government not suited to the existing state of society.

The feudal system, which was for ages the prevailing form of government in Europe, was not ill-calculated for the state of society then existing; when an elective chief led his barbarous hordes to the field of battle, or upon their marauding expeditions, whilst their slaves were left to cultivate the land under the inspection of those who were not able to bear arms; and when comparatively few of the useful arts were deemed essential to the comforts of life.—But when other governments were gradually accommodated to the circumstances of the age, the evils arising from an elective sovereign, a haughty, factious, and turbulent nobility, and a slavish peasantry at the absolute disposal of their lords, were manifested in many instances, and, among others, in the comparative weakness of the state.

Had the Poles been immovably attached to this system, their present doom would not, perhaps, have been pitiable; as incorporation with the subjects of the partitioning powers was a less evil than continual dissension among themselves, oppression from their neighbours, and extreme poverty in the midst of a country naturally the most fruitful of any in Europe.—On the contrary the enlightened and disinterested part of the nation were perfectly sensible of the defects of the old system, and had actually established a new constitution upon principles which promised to
remove.

remove the causes of their misery and dependence and lay the foundation of prosperity. Unfortunately, their salutary measures for this purpose were taken too late. Disunion in the nation, and the want of strength and resources in the government, prepared them, as we have already seen, to become a prey to the villainous designs of a confederacy which had been long seeking a pretext to seize on the Polish territories.

If we attend to the political circumstances of the kingdom, we shall not be surprised that, with all the natural advantages which it possessed, it should have fallen into that deplorable state of debility which led to its dissolution.

The population was divided into nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants.—Nearly all the landed property was in the hands of the two first of these classes.—The burghers or citizens were deprived of the privilege of sending representatives to the diet, and were not suffered even to possess land, except within a small distance of their towns.*—This reduced them to so poor and disreputable a state, that the government was constrained to permit the Jews to settle in Poland, to engross the whole trade of the country, and the management of all pecuniary transactions.*—The peasants are all serfs, or slaves: and the value of an estate, we are told by Mr. Coxe, is not “estimated so much from its extent, as from the number of “its peasants, who are transferred from one master to another like so “many head of cattle.”—Except such as were settled on the royal demesnes, these were at the absolute disposal of their master, who was only punishable by a fine, if he killed a slave, till the year 1768, when such a murder was made a capital crime.^b But we may easily judge of the difficulty of enforcing such a law.

The nobles were very numerous; consisting of all who possessed a freehold estate, or who could prove their descent from ancestors formerly possessing a freehold, following no trade or commerce, and at liberty to choose the place of their habitation.^c

The

* “According to the last capitation,” says Mr. Coxe, “there were 166,871 Jews in “Poland, exclusive of Lithuania, who paid an annual poll-tax.”—*Travels into Poland*, 3c. 1. 153.

^a Coxe. 1. 139. 141. 153.

^b Idem. 1. 142. 46.

^c Idem. 130. 32.

The generality of these were very poor and venal:* and those who had large property were luxurious without refinement.—Dumouriez, whom we have seen employed among them in 1770, thus describes their chiefs. “ Their manners are Asiatic. Astonishing luxury, absurd expence, entertainments terminating in excess, gaming and dancing, are their chief occupations.”^d

Men of reflection among the Poles themselves were sensible of the absolute necessity of a thorough reform in the system, to avert the impending ruin of the state; and it was by the efforts of such patriots that the revolution of 1791 was accomplished. “ If you knew the confusion and anarchy of our constitution,” says a person, well versed in the laws of his country, to Mr. Coxe, “ you would be surprised at nothing: many grievances necessarily exist even in the best regulated states: what then must be the case in ours, which of all governments is the most detestable.”^e

If we consider the necessary result of these circumstances in the Polish nation, and the conduct of the European powers towards them, we cannot be surprised that, with a population of 14,000,000 inhabitants before the first partition, and of 9,000,000 over an extent of 160,800 square miles after that event,^f they should have been finally subdued by the partitioning powers.—We cannot, however, but regret that the patriots had not been enabled to make trial of a rational constitution for their restoration.

AGRICULTURE, TRADE, AND MANUFACTURES.

Poland has, perhaps, a greater proportion of land capable of cultivation and inviting the hand of industry for its improvement, than any country in Europe. But the national circumstances, aggravated by internal distraction

* “ The name of Poland still remains,” said a Pole to Mr. Coxe, “ but the nation no longer exists: an universal corruption and venality pervades all ranks of people. Many of the first nobility do not blush to receive pensions from foreign courts: one professes himself publicly an Austrian, a second a Prussian, a third a Frenchman, and a fourth a Russian.”—*Travels into Poland*, &c. 1. 130.

^d Vie de Dumouriez, 1. 196.

^e Coxe. 1. 129.

^f Zimmermann. 82.

tion and foreign war, have been ruinous to agriculture during the last period of its history.

We may judge of the state of trade from the following facts from Zimmermann. "The circulating specie is valued at only thirteen millions of German dollars; and interest is still as high as from seven to ten per cent. There are few manufactures in the kingdom, excepting those at Grodno."—"The exports are corn, hemp, flax, horses, cattle (about 100,000 oxen every year) peltry, timber, metals, manna, wax, honey, and some other small articles: the value of these exports in 1777 amounted to thirty millions of dollars: the imports, consisting chiefly in wine, cloth, silk, hardware, gold, silver, East and West India goods, were supposed to amount to not less than forty-seven millions of dollars."

We ought to do honour to the efforts made by the last sovereign of this unhappy country, Stanislaus Augustus, to contribute to the prosperity of his people, amidst scenes of distraction and external oppression which defeated his benevolent and patriotic purpose.—In 1776 he established manufactories near Grodno, for cloth and camlets, linen and cottons, silk stuffs, embroidery, silk stockings, hats, lace, fire arms, needles, cards, bleaching wax, and carriages, which altogether afforded employment for 8,000 persons.^a

TURKEY.

^a Zimmermann.

^b Cox's. 1. 283.

 TURKEY.

GOVERNMENT, &c.

"TURKEY," says an author who resided many years, as a consul, in the country, "is the refuge of fanatical ignorance, the chosen seat where she unfurled her bloody banner, and where, though torpid with age, she still grasps her iron sceptre."—The Mahometan religion, which prevents the light which is so generally diffused in the present age from piercing through the clouds that envelope this favourite seat of ignorance, is, at the same time, one of the causes of that ferocity which marks the national character: "the haughtier Turk," says the same author speaking of the conquest of Greece, "is not merely exalted above the Greek as a conqueror; he considers himself still more highly elevated as the favourite of heaven; and the greater part of his ferocity as a tyrant is owing to the arrogant and barbarous dictates of his religion."

The singularity of the whole political and social system of this country renders it particularly deserving our regard.—"Much," says Mr. Eton, "has been said in assertion and denial of the despotism of the Turkish government; and arguments, the most abstruse and far-fetched, have been employed rather to confound the terms than to establish the authenticity of facts. But if by despotism be meant a power originating in force, and upheld by the same means to which it owes its establishment, a power scorning the jurisdiction of reason, and forbidding the temerity of investigation, a power calculated to crush the growing energies

• Eton's Survey, p. 12.

• Idem, 15.

“ energies of the mind and annihilating the faculties of man, in order to
 “ ensure his dependence, the government of Turkey may be most faith-
 “ fully characterized by that name.”—According to him this despotism
 has superstition for its basis: in it the power of the sword, or that of an
 absolute military chief, is blended with the theocratic power derived from
 the Mahometan religion. “ In the Mahometan system we may trace three
 “ eras. The first, which was of that kind usually denominated a theocracy,
 “ continued during the life of the prophet himself, who appeared in the
 “ double character of a military chief and an inspired legislator. The
 “ second was the government of the Saracen caliphs, his immediate suc-
 “ cessors: they bore, indeed, the double sceptre of temporal and spiritual
 “ power; but, as they pretended to no personal communications with the
 “ Almighty, all the sanctity of their character consisted in being the
 “ descendants of the prophet, and the guardians and expositors of the
 “ law.—The present Turkish constitution forms the third gradation: like
 “ the preceding, it has an inviolable code in the sacred volume of its
 “ religion; like them also, its reliance is on the power of the sword, and
 “ the modes of its administration are military. This division of power
 “ originated in the political error of the Ottoman princes, who, eager
 “ only for military glory, and, perhaps, wishing to cast a specious veil over
 “ their usurpation, when they finally suppressed the caliphate, did not
 “ assume to themselves all its functions, but resigned into the hands of
 “ the theological lawyers the spiritual supremacy.—Such,” says the author,
 “ was the origin of the authority of the ulema, or body of lawyers, and
 “ their chief, the mufti, or high priest, to whom is intrusted the exposition
 “ of the Mahometan law in all its branches. These men possessing, like
 “ the priests under the Jewish theocracy, the oracles both of law and
 “ religion, not only unite in themselves the power of two great corpo-
 “ rations, those of the law and the church, but also share with the sove-
 “ reign the direct exercise of the legislative, executive, and judicial
 “ powers.”^a

The *fetva* of the mufti, under the present system, is requisite to give
 validity to acts of state; a circumstance that would give him an ascen-
 dency in the government, were it not for the power reserved to the sultan
 of

^a Eton's Survey. 17.

^a Idem. 19.

of nominating and deposing the person who holds that dignity. "This," says Mr. Eton, "gives him a counterpoise against the mufti, by creating for him as many partisans among the ulema as there are candidates aspiring to the pontificate."^a

"Another restraint on the authority of the sultan is formed by the great council, or divan, consisting of the great military officers, the heads of the ulema, and the principal ministers of the empire. No important act of government can be undertaken without a previous discussion in this assembly, at which the grand seignior, or his chief vizier, presides; but every question is decided by a plurality of votes."^b

The same has happened in the Turkish as must occur in every other government founded on the sword. The despot has in effect lost his power whenever he has shewn himself destitute of those martial virtues which alone could qualify him to fill his station. The janissaries, who are the instruments of power in the hands of a resolute and warlike monarch, have acquired an ascendant under the reigns of weak and effeminate princes, and have exercised it either by deposing him or rendering him subservient to their wishes.

According to Mr. Eton, the judicial branch of the Turkish system, like the others, is founded on religion. "Offences against the state, or such as affect the public peace, are wholly under the jurisdiction of the sovereign, and seem to be excluded from judicial forms; whilst the dispensation of justice by formal process seems to be intended only for offences and disputes of a more private nature."—The fundamental law, civil and political, is the *koran*, whose respect is owing to its divine origin. From this is extracted a civil code, called the *multka*, to which are added certain commentaries called the *durer* and *halebi*. Beside these, there are various collections of fetvas, or sentences of the most celebrated muftis, all of which together form a collection of legal knowledge, more than sufficient for the instruction of the judges. But as these judges (or kadis) are not bound by any preceding decrees, and have the application of the law in their own breasts, the more intricate it is rendered by the different compilations and commentaries, the more arbitrary is the power intrusted to them."^c—The government of the distant provinces,

^a Eton, 23.

^b Idem. 25.

^c Idem. 31.

provinces, committed to bashaws, is so much worse than that of the empire at large, as the power of a delegate is generally more oppressively exercised than that of the sovereign; especially where the appointment is purchased, and where the precarious enjoyment of it induces the bashaw to avail himself of every expedient to enrich himself during its continuance.

The reader is referred to Mr. Eton's valuable work on the Turkish government, &c. for a more particular account of these and many other matters relating to it. Enough has been here laid before the reader to prove that the government is a wretched system of despotism, propped by superstition; that it was adapted to circumstances that no longer exist, to a warlike people, governed and led to the field by a prince whose martial virtues commanded respect; and that it is liable to abuse in every department.

PRODUCT AND COMMERCE.

Under such a government it is impossible that commerce or manufactures should flourish, or that any improvements should be made in agriculture or the arts of life.—They are chiefly indebted, both for subsistence and the articles of their export trade to a genial climate and a luxuriant soil.—Several of the Turkish provinces produce, not only abundant crops of grass and corn, but excellent wine and oil. Others are celebrated for currants and other kinds of fruit: others for honey, of which they produce immense quantities: several of them produce cotton; others silk; others tobacco. Moldavia is said to export annually 40,000 oxen and buffalos and as many horses: and it also produces a vast number of sheep.—From the skins of different animals produced in these provinces they prepare the leather, for which they are so celebrated.

Such are the bounties of nature, that the balance of trade, notwithstanding their want of industry, is said to be in their favour.—Their principal exports are cotton, wool, leather, silk, fruits, rice, coffee, camel-yarn, wine, tobacco, honey, wax, cattle, and marble.—Their principal imports are woollen cloth, corn, indigo, sugar, cochineal, spices, glass, hardware, and East India goods.—According to Zimmermann, the Turks do

MISCELLANIES.

not lose materially by their trade with France or Holland, and they are gainers, in general, by that with England: as an example, the exports to that country in 1785 amounted to £.146,906, and the imports from it only to £.82,449. And the balance of their trade with Hungary and Germany, in 1778 was 241,773 florins to 1,328,337.^b

EXTENT AND POPULATION.

The population of the Turkish empire, including the tributary countries of Bessarabia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, is estimated at forty-nine millions, over 800,000 square miles, or sixty-one to a mile. Of this population that of Constantinople is estimated at one million.

REVENUE.

It is difficult to estimate the revenue of this empire on account of the variation of its levies, and the variation of the sums arising from confiscations, sale of public offices, and the seizures of private fortunes under various pretexts.—In 1776, according to the statistical tables of a person resident at Vienna, the revenue amounted to fifty-three millions of florins, and the expenditure to 44,495,000 florins.ⁱ

ARMY.

The Turkish army may be considered as either nominal or real.—A despot in such an empire may summon what number he thinks proper to his standard, and they may be numbered as soldiers; but a great part of the multitudes which sometimes take the field in Turkey are an encumbrance, devouring the provisions of the effective troops.

Zimmermann

^a Zimmermann. 347.

^b Idem. 353.

Zimmermann states the Turkish army at the beginning of the last Russian war as follows:

" INFANTRY.		MEN.
" Janissaries,		27,000
" Sserhadbuky, or frontier troops,		10,000
" Field artillery corps,		6,000
" Garrison ditto,		4,000
		<hr/>
		" 47,000
		<hr/>
" CAVALRY.		
" Spahis,		15,000
" Timariots,		75,000
" Sserhadbuky,		10,000
		<hr/>
		" 100,000
		" 47,000
		<hr/>
" Total,		147,000."
		<hr/>

Beside these, the garrison of Constantinople and other fortresses amount to 120,000 men.—The officers of the artillery corps, according to Zimmermann, are in general, supplied by France.

NAVY.

In any extraordinary exigency, we are informed by the writer before mentioned, the sultan can send out

	" MEN EACH.
" 40 ships of the line, with	800
" 40 galleys,	140
" 20 caravellas,	300
" 100 galliots,	60."

The states under the protection of the Porte, viz. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli are obliged to furnish ten ships of the line, when called upon.

In the year 1786 the sultan's actual force consisted of thirty ships of the line of 800 men each, and forty galleys of 140 men.^k

EAST

^k Zimmermann. 355.

EAST INDIES.

SOME account of the inhabitants of the peninsula of India, of the powers which enjoy the sovereignty of the different countries, either as subordinate to the mogul or as independent princes, and of the religion of the Gentoos, has been already given as a preparative to the history of India during this period.—To these matters are here added some particulars relative to these countries which appeared interesting to the writer.

EXTENT AND POPULATION OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

Colonel Fullarton, who takes the estimate of major Rennell, says “ that the territories of hither India, or what has inaccurately been called the empire of the great mogul, extends 1,680 miles in length, 1,440 in breadth; that it contains an area of 1,138,400 square miles, and maintains 110,000,000 inhabitants.”

The same writer says, “ that, if we divide the whole region into 114 geographical parts, we shall find, that of these something less than one part belongs to the mogul and his immediate adherents; to the Affgans, Kashmirians, Pitans, Candahars, Seets, Abdallahs, and various other northern hordes, twenty-five parts; to the Maratta states, including Berar, forty-eight; to the nizam, including Adoni, five and a half; to the circar of Tippoo Sultan, including Cudapah, eight a half; to the rajah of Travancore, one; to the English and their adherents twenty-eight and an half. The remainder may be assigned to the petty rajahs, polygars, “ and

* Fullarton's View of the English Interests in India. 49.

“ and other classes of aboriginal Gentoos, who have hitherto defied the
 “ powers of the crescent and the cross, and, under cover of woods,
 “ mountains, and inaccessible retreats, have maintained their inde-
 “ pence.”^b

PROPERTY IN SOIL.

This subject is discussed with much information in Mr. Colebrook's translation of the digest of Hindoo law, by Jagannatha Tercapanchanana.—We there find that, agreeably with the spirit of the Eastern governments, the property of the soil is vested in the sovereign; and, in order to lay a solid foundation for absolute power, the sovereign's right is supposed to be derived from conquest.

“ *Thrice seven times exterminating the military tribe,*” says the digest,
 “ *Parasu Ráma gave the earth to Casyapa as a gratuity for the sacri-*
 “ *fice of a horse.*”

“ By conquest,” the commentator observes, “ the earth became the
 “ property of the holy Parasu Ráma; by gift the property of the sage
 “ Casyapa; and, committed by him to Cshatriyas for the sake of protection,
 “ became their protective property successively held by powerful conque-
 “ rors, and not by subjects cultivating the soil.”

“ But annual property is acquired by subjects on payment of annual
 “ revenue: and the king cannot lawfully give, sell, or dispose of the land
 “ to another for that year. But if the agreement be in this form, you
 “ shall enjoy it for years; for as many years as the property is granted,
 “ during so many years the king should never give, sell, or dispose of it
 “ to another. Yet if the subject pay not the revenue, the grant, being
 “ conditional, is annulled by the breach of the condition; and the king
 “ may grant it to another.—But if no special agreement be made, and
 “ another person, desirous of obtaining the land, stipulate a greater re-
 “ venue, it may be granted to him on his application.”

After

^b Fullarton, 51.

After treating of other circumstances attending on property, particularly the rights of the king and those of the bráhmāna, the author comes to that part of the digest which treats of taxation.

“ 1. Having ascertained the rates of purchase and sale, the length of the way, the expences of food and of condiments, the charges of securing the goods carried, and the net profits of trade, let the king oblige traders to pay taxes on their saleable commodities:

“ 2. After full consideration, let a king so levy those taxes continually in his dominions, that both he and the merchant may receive a just compensation for their several acts.

“ 3. As the leech, the sucking calf, and the bee, take their natural food by little and little, thus must a king draw from his dominions an annual revenue.

“ 4. Of cattle, of gems, of gold and silver, added each year to the capital stock, a fiftieth part may be taken by the king; of grain, an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth.

“ 5. He may also take a sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, flesh-meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medical substances, liquids, flowers, roots, and fruit.

“ 6. Of gathered leaves, pot-herbs, grass, utensils made with leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone.

“ 7. A king, even though dying with want, must not receive any tax from a bráhmāna learned in the védas, nor suffer such a bráhmāna, residing in his territories, to be afflicted with hunger.

“ 8. Of that king in whose dominion a learned bráhmāna is afflicted with hunger, the whole kingdom will in a short time be afflicted with famine.

“ 9. The king, having ascertained his knowledge of scripture and good morals, must allot him a suitable maintenance, and protect him on all sides, as a father protects his own son.

“ 10. By that religious duty which such a bráhmāna performs each day, under the full protection of the sovereign, the life, wealth, and dominions of his protector shall be greatly increased.

“ 11. Let the king order a mere trifle to be paid, in the name of the annual tax, by the meaner inhabitants of his realm, who subsist by petty traffick.

“ 12. By

" 12. By low handicraftsmen, artificers, and servile men, who support themselves by labour, the king may cause work to be done for a day in each month.

" 13. Let him not cut up his own root by taking no revenue, nor the root of other men by excess of covetousness; for, by cutting up his own root and their's, he makes both himself and them wretched."

This abstract is sufficient to shew the ideas entertained by the inhabitants of Hindostan respecting the origin of property in the soil and the principles of taxation.—For further information on these and other analogous matters the reader is referred to Mr. Colebrook's translation of the digest.

PROPRIETARY RIGHT.

According to a writer upon this subject in India, at that period when the servants of the English East India company undertook to conduct the internal administration of the provinces of which it had the duennée, and were desirous to secure for their employers all the available sources of their new acquisitions, these questions arose: "Of what nature was the landed property of Bengal, to whom it belonged, and what privileges appertained to other classes? Various opinions were entertained.—Some attributed to the sovereign the lordship of the soil; but restricted this property, by admitting that the peasantry, as holding immediately of the prince, had a permanent interest in the land by immemorial usage. Others were of opinion, that the zemindars enjoyed a proprietary right in the land, of an hereditary nature, and considered the peasantry as having no positive right to retain the land against the will and approbation of the immediate superior. Many could perceive no proprietary right in any but the peasant occupying the soil; they held him to be the natural proprietor of the land, but bound to contribute to the support of the state from which he had protection.

"In one point of view, the zemindars, as descendants of ancient independent rajahs, or as the successors of their descendants, seemed to have been tributary princes. In another light they appeared only officers of government. Perhaps their real character was mixed of both; and they

* Asiatic Register, 1803. 32. of Miscellanies.

“ they might, not inaptly, have been compared to kings, nominated by
 “ the Roman republic, to administer the internal affairs of conquered
 “ kingdoms.

“ This cannot obviously apply to any but to the rajahs of great zemin-
 “ daries. Numerous landholders, subordinate to these, as well as others
 “ independent of them, cannot evidently be traced to a similar origin.

“ In examining the question, it was presupposed that a property in the
 “ soil, similar to that which is vested of right, or by fiction, in the sove-
 “ reign, or in some class of his subjects, in every state of Europe, must
 “ vest in some class of the inhabitants of Hindostan, either sovereign or
 “ subject. If it were denied to the zemindar, (a denomination which
 “ readily suggested the term of land-holder for its equivalent,) the sove-
 “ reign has been thought the only member of the state to whom that
 “ property could be attributed.

“ Beside the presumption arising on the literal interpretation of the
 “ name, the hereditary succession to zemindaries pointed out these for the
 “ real proprietors. And although the succession had not followed the rules
 “ of inheritance established by law for landed property, and admitted in
 “ practice for landed estates of which the revenue had been granted away by
 “ government; and although the hereditary succession to office of accounts
 “ was as regular and as familiar as to zemindaries; the zealous advocates
 “ for the rights of zemindars deemed the argument conclusive, or appealed
 “ to humanity in support of it. For perceiving no competitor but the
 “ sovereign for the lordship of the soil, it escaped them, that the rights of
 “ more numerous classes might be involved in the question, and that the
 “ argument to humanity might well be retorted.

“ However insufficient the arguments might be in themselves, yet,
 “ assisted by considerations of expediency, they decided the question;
 “ and government acknowledged the zemindars proprietors of the soil.

“ But it has now been admitted by a very high authority, that the sove-
 “ reign was superior of the soil; that the zemindars were officers of
 “ revenue, justice, and police; that the office was frequently, but not
 “ necessarily hereditary; that the cultivator of the soil, attached to his
 “ possession with the right to cultivate it, was subject to payments, va-
 “ rying according to particular agreements and local customs; that, in

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“ general,

“ general, he continued on the spot, but that the proportion to be paid
 “ to the state was to be judged of by the zemindar; and that the rights
 “ of the ryot have been gradually abridged.”^a

EXTENT, POPULATION, AND AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM, OF BENGAL, BAHAR,
 AND BENARES.

The following is an extract from a statement in the Asiatic Annual Register, said to be given by a gentleman “ residing in the East Indies, “ whose intimate and minute acquaintance with its whole internal affairs “ and political economy, as well as his deep knowledge in the laws and “ literature of the Hindoos, gave great weight to his opinions.”—This writer states the extent of Bengal and Bahar to be 149,217 square miles, and these, together with Benares, to be not less than 162,500.—Founding his opinion on the result of an inquiry, instituted in 1789, requiring the collectors of districts to give their opinions respecting their population, and on the sentiments of sir W. Jones, he says, “ that he cannot hesitate to “ state 27,000,000 for the whole population, including the zemindary of “ Benares.” *

One of the circumstances on which this writer founds his statement is the subsistence of the inhabitants: and their regular manner of living, according to him, enabled him to estimate it with a considerable degree of accuracy.—It is deserving our notice.—“ The diet of an Indian,” says he, “ is very simple: the diet of one is the diet of millions; consisting of “ split pulse, with salt to relieve the insipidity of plain rice. Two ounces “ of salt, two pounds of split pease, and eight pounds of rice, is the usual “ daily consumption of a family of five persons in easy circumstances; “ whence we have the average consumption of salt in a year at 9lb. a head.

The value of the product of these provinces he states as follows: *

“ Rice,

* The writer above-mentioned gives 150,000,000 maunds of rice, wheat, and barley: 60,000,000 of millet: and 90,000,000 of pulse. But he does not give the proportion which the maund bears to any English measure.—In another treatise the same writer makes thirty *factory* maunds to be equal to one ton.—If the factory maund be the general measure, one of these must be a trifle more than 70 lb. which is somewhat more than the weight of a bushel of good wheat, by the Winchester bushel.—*Asiatic Register*. 1802. 80. *Miscellanies*.

^a Asiatic Regist. 58. of *Miscellanies*.

• Fullarton. 41. 44.

	" RUPEES.
" Rice, wheat, and barley,	112,500,000
" Millet,	30,000,000
" Pulse,	56,250,000
	<hr/>
" Add to this the value of what is reserved " for seed not taken into the above account,	198,750,000
	<hr/>
" Oil Seeds,	227,130,000
" Sugar, tobacco, cotton, &c.	12,000,000
" Sundries,	70,000,000
	<hr/>
" Sundries,	20,000,000
	<hr/>
" Gross produce of land,	329,130,000."

This, says the writer, is more than seven rents, if the rents have been well estimated at 42,452,817 rupees.¹

The great disproportion between the rent and the gross produce will be, in some degree, accounted for if we attend to some circumstances relative to rents and the practice of husbandry, as given by the same writer.—“ The ryot,” says he, “ unless content to pay by the custom of the country, and expose himself to exactions under false constructions of the custom, must take out a patch or lease, executing, at the same time a counterpart.*

Patehs may be for payment in cash, or in kind: this latter may be for a specific quantity of grain, or for an adjustment on the crop by an actual partition, or by estimation.

After speaking of each of these modes of payment, he informs us, “ that in the rule for dividing the crop, whether special engagements or by custom, three proportions are known,” viz. one-half for the landlord and “ the

* “ A new settler,” says the above writer, “ becomes a ryot if he tenants; but if he assists in husbandry as a labourer only, he is in another class of cultivators. For the term, ryot, though properly meaning a subject in general, is restricted to citizens contributing directly to the revenue of the state, whether as tenants of land paying rent, or as traders and artificers paying taxes.”—“ To avoid obscurity,” says this writer, “ we speak of the ryot as a tenant paying rent, and of his superior as a landlord or landholder. But properly his payment was a contribution to the state, levied by officers standing between the ryot and government. They never were landlords paying taxes to the state, leasing their lands to tenants, till placed in that situation by the British government.”—*Asiatic Ann. Regist.* 53 and 4 of *Miscellanies*.

¹ *Asiatic Ann. Regist.* 1802. 44 of *Miscellanies*.

“ the other for the tenant.—One-third for the landlord and two-thirds for the tenant—and two-fifths for the landlord and three-fifths for the tenant.

“ These proportions, and others less common,” says the writer, “ are all subject to taxes and deductions, similar to those of other tenures; and, in consequence, another proportion, engrafted on equal partition, has in some places been fixed by government in lieu of all taxes: as nine-sixteenths for the landlord, and seven-sixteenths for the tenant.—Under this tenure, the tenant may not reap his crop without his landlord’s permission.”^a

We may hence perceive how great a proportion of the gross amount of the produce is expended in the cultivation: for it is to be observed that, although the ryot, or tenant, has so large a share of a crop which was estimated at seven rents, yet he had but a bare subsistence for himself and his family.

The same writer says, that a peasant cultivating for half produce is not rewarded for his labour so well as hired labourers.—This he proves by a statement of the produce of his two crops in the year and of his expences; according to which a very trifling balance is left.—Then he proceeds to say, “ in fact it is not upon the cultivation of grain that the peasant depends for profit, or even for comfortable maintenance. In grazing districts it is the dairy; in others it is the culture of some more valuable produce, which aids the corn husbandry. In grazing districts, the occupying of arable land is necessary to entitle the peasant to pasture, in the forest and on the downs, a proportionate herd of cattle. And the culture of corn, though not equally profitable, serves to alleviate the risk of other cultures, which seem precarious in proportion to the greatness of the profit. On the failure of his mulberries or sugar canes, the peasant, had he no corn, must suffer the extremities of want: ^b but raising in grain a sufficiency for mere subsistence, he can wait the supply of his other wants from the success of other culture, or make a reserve for a successful year to meet the difficulties of another.”^c

We may form some judgment of the great expence attending the cultivation of land in this country, and indeed of the apparent waste of it, and of the unskilfulness of the husbandmen, by adverting to a single article of it. “ A plough,” says the writer before mentioned, “ with the usual yoke
“ of

^a Asiatic Regist. 1802. 54. of Miscell.

^b Idem. 75.

^c Idem. 76.

“ of two or three pair of oxen assigned to it, is equal in common management to the full cultivation of fifteen begahs of land.”^{*}—A begah, according to him, is sixteen hundred square yards, or somewhat less than a third of an acre: so that two pair of oxen, at the least, are employed to cultivate less than five acres of land, which is not a quarter part of what the same strength would be sufficient for in England.—Though the right of pasture in the forest may reduce the expence of keeping the oxen to a trifle, yet the keep of the man who attends them is a heavy, and apparently unnecessary charge on so small a quantity of land.

The following gives us a further insight into their system, at the same time that it, in some degree, accounts for the small quantity of land cultivated with a given strength in this country.—“ A cultivator,” says this writer, “ employing servants, entertains one for every plough, paying monthly wages, which, on an average, do not exceed one rupee per month. But the task, at the rate of a begah a day, is completed by noon. The cattle are then left to the herdsman’s care, and the ploughman follows other occupations the rest of the day, generally the cultivation of some land on his own account; and this he generally tenants at half produce from his employer.”[†]

The want of skill and management is evinced in another article. “ The succession of crops, which engages so much the attention of enlightened cultivators in Europe, and on which principally rests the success of well-conducted husbandry, is not understood in India. A course extended beyond the year has never been dreamed of by a Bengal farmer: and in the succession of crops within the year he is guided to no choice of an article adapted to restore the land impoverished by a former crop.”[‡]—(So rapid is vegetation in this climate, that a farmer can raise three crops in a season: but it is bad management to do it.)

The manner of ploughing throws further light on the subject of expence, and is deserving our notice. “ The plough is drawn by a single yoke of oxen, guided by the ploughman himself. Two or three pair of oxen assigned to each plough relieve each other till the daily task be completed. Several ploughs in succession deepen the same furrows, or rather scratch the surface: for the plough wants a contrivance for turning”[§]

^{*} Asiatic Register, 1802, 74.

[†] Idem. 72.

[‡] Idem. 50.

"ing the earth, and the share has neither width nor depth to stir a new
 "soil. A second ploughing crosses the first; and a third is sometimes
 "given diagonally to the two preceding. These, frequently repeated, and
 "followed by their substitute for the harrow, pulverize the surface, and
 "prepare it to receive the seed."*

The want of capital is alternately the cause and the effect of this bad management; and is an evil rooted into the system which will never, perhaps, be eradicated. "The want of capital, employed in agriculture and manufactures," says the writer before mentioned, "prevents the division of labour in Bengal. Every manufacturer, every artist, working for his own account, conducts the whole process of his art, from the formation of his tools to the sale of his production. Unable to wait the market or anticipate its demand, he can only follow his regular occupation, as immediately called to it by the wants of his neighbours. In the intervals he must apply to some other employment in immediate request: and the labours of agriculture, ever wanted, are the general resource. The mechanic, finding himself fully competent to the practice of common husbandry, is not discouraged from undertaking it at his own risk. Every labourer, every artisan, who has frequent occasion to recur to the labours of the field, becomes a tenant. Such farmers are ill-qualified to plan or conduct a well-judged course of husbandry, and are idly employed, to the great waste of useful time, in carrying to market the small produce of their petty farm."**

The same observations are applicable to manufactures and commerce: small capitals require comparatively large profits; and the want of larger are a bar to improvements.

The smallness of the income required for the maintenance of a cultivator and his family will be accounted for, if we attend to his mode of subsistence, his dress, and his habitation. "That animal food," says the before-mentioned writer, "should be reserved for festivals, seems a circumstance of national manners; but that a large proportion of the people
 "should

* The above writer informs us, "that in some districts an inquiry made in 1790 ascertained the quantity of land tenanted by near 70,000 cultivators; and it gave an average of less than eighteen begahs (about five acres and an half) each in actual tillage."—*Asiatic Register*. 42. of *Miscellanies*.

▪ *Asiatic Register*. 1802. 48.

• *Idem*. 53.

“ should use unnutritive grains and pulse instead of white corn, cannot be
 “ ascribed to spontaneous austerity. Salt is eagerly desired by the Indian:
 “ his vegetable diet requires it; but the most numerous classes cannot
 “ afford to season their food with it. Observe the peasant’s meal; a pinch
 “ of salt on a leaf stands by his plate of rice; a few grains at a time
 “ deceive his palate, while he swallows several mouthfuls of insipid food.
 “ His abstemiousness in respect to this, and other condiments, for which
 “ his predilection is known, is not voluntary. He is sensible that he is
 “ ill fed.

“ The dress of the Indians, rich or poor, is simple. The intercourse
 “ with mussulmen has introduced some variety in vesture, but the original
 “ Hindoo dress prevails. A scarf on the shoulders, and another falling from
 “ the waist, with sandals on the feet, clothe the men; a longer scarf is the
 “ whole of the female dress: when rain or cold require it, a woollen or a
 “ quilted mantle is the only additional covering. But though the form of
 “ dress be similar, the materials employed constitute a considerable dif-
 “ ference. Cloths of a good fabric are within the reach of few; a coarse
 “ and ill-struck cloth of the same texture as that known to the trade as
 “ wrappers in packages, is the dress of the more numerous classes; while
 “ many are content with sackcloth. For warmer covering foreign woollens
 “ are preferred, but attainable by few; the middle class are dressed in
 “ quilted chintz, or in plain quilts; while the poorer sort have recourse to
 “ the rugged covering of a homemade blanket. The peasant decked in
 “ his sackcloth and blanket can hardly deem himself well clothed. View
 “ the inside of his dwelling; a coarse mat his bed, the ground his chair
 “ and table, cowdung his fuel, unglazed earthen pots his furniture, a leaf
 “ his plate: he cannot be thought well provided.

“ It will naturally be asked, whether the price of labour could afford
 “ better subsistence? It cannot, if we justly estimate the average earnings
 “ of a family at no more than three rupees a month, which can barely
 “ maintain them in the lowest form of subsistence.”

LITERATURE

* Asiatic Register. 1802. 70. of Miscellanies.

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

Before we close these miscellaneous sketches relating to the East Indies, we ought to do honour to those who have been instrumental in introducing a taste for literature and science in Hindostan.

The late sir William Jones was one of those superior characters, who may be traced by the lucid path which they leave behind them, and their benefactions to human nature.—To this intelligent, learned, and worthy man, assisted by others who warmly co-operated with him in the meritorious design, among whom was Mr. Hastings, Hindostan is indebted for its literary institutions; as well as the learned researches which have been made respecting its antiquities, language, religion, and laws.

Under the present mild and rational administration we may hope that the day is now arrived when the prejudices which the natives of this country have entertained against us will begin to wear away, when they will be taught no longer to view us as rapacious and merciless marauders, but to revere the name of European as the promoter of their happiness.

REVENUE.

Colonel Fullarton says, “ that the countries subject to our influence, under any administration that did not openly cherish discord and exult in malversation, would yield an annual revenue of £10,000,000, and would increase in value with every subsequent improvement.”†

If we may judge from Mr. Dundas’s last statement of the financial affairs of India, on which we certainly may rely, such an administration is now established.

It appears from that statement that the total revenues of the three presidencies had considerably increased from that of the preceding year, and that it had nearly reached the sum mentioned by colonel Fullarton.—It is as follows:

RESULTS.

† He wrote about the year 1786.

¶ Fullarton’s View. 72.

RESULTS OF THE ESTIMATES, 1800, 1801.

REVENUES.	
Bengal,	£.6,339,204
Madras,	3,273,071
Bombay,	300,475
Total Revenues ..	<u>9,912,750</u>
CHARGES.	
Bengal,	4,422,048
Madras,	3,723,112
Bombay,	1,051,693
Total charges, ..	<u>9,196,853</u>
Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies,	715,897
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c.	<u>82,360</u>
Remainder, &c. ..	633,537
Deducted from interest on debts,	<u>1,082,042</u>
Which shews the net deficiency of the revenues from the territories to be	448,505
Which, deducted from the estimated amount of sales of imports ...	<u>591,975</u>
The remainder is ..	<u>£.143,470</u>

And is the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1800, 1801 to the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.

The home account, furnished, he said, much cause of satisfaction:

Aggregate amount of sales, 1800, 1801,	£.10,323,452
More than last year,	162,842
Excess on the company's goods alone,	234,314
Excess on private trade goods,	45,112
Deficiency on neutral property,	<u>116,584</u>

The

MISCELLANIES.

The sale of the company's goods estimated at	£6,675,000
Actually amounted to	7,602,041
Being more than estimated,	927,041
The receipts on sales of company's goods estimated at	6,201,000
Actually amounted to	7,382,849
Being more than estimated,	1,181,849
Charges and profit on private trade estimated at	100,000
Actually amounted to	133,429
Being more than estimated,	£33,429

GENERAL RESULT.

Although the actual receipts have fallen short of the estimate upwards of £800,000, from a disappointment in an expected payment from government, and from deferring the disposal of the loyalty loan; and although the payments have been exceeded by an enlarged supply to India, yet the very favourable produce from the sales of goods, and the extension of time for the liquidation of debts to the bank, have so operated, that the balance of cash estimated to be on the first of march,

against the company,	£368,013
Actually proved to be in their favour to the amount of	930,590
Being more favourable than estimated by	£1,298,603

He next came to the state of the

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year,	£12,995,526
Amount this year,	14,640,401
Increase, .	1,644,875
Debts transferred in the year, .	£345,307

DEBTS

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount last year,	£.10,190,528
Amount this year,	12,301,570
Increase of debts bearing interest,	<u>2,111,042</u>
Amount of interest payable by the account of last year,	915,687
Amount of interest payable by the account of this year,	£.1,082,042
Increase of interest payable annually	<u>16,635</u>

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year,	£.10,259,107
Ditto, ditto, by the present state- ment,	11,569,553
Increase of assets,	<u>£.1,310,446</u>
Deduct.—Increase of assets from increase debts; the state of the company's affairs in India will appear worse by	<u>334,430</u>

Although the state of the concern at home was worse this year by £.344,981, on the particular ground of deducting increase of debts from decrease of assets, yet the net improvement at China and St. Helena was no less than £.1,442,232. He should proceed to the consideration of debts and assets both in India and at home.

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India,	£.1,644,876
Decrease of debts at home,	436,233
Net increase of debts,	<u>£.1,208,643</u>

Increase

MISCELLANIES.

Increase of assets in India,	£.1,310,446	
Decrease of assets at home,	781,214	
Increase,	<u>529,232</u>	
Add nett improved balance at China and St. Helena as fol- lows:		
China,	1,446,101	
Deduct St. Helena,	<u>3,869</u>	
Total increase of assets,	<u>1,442,232</u>	<u>1,971,464</u>
Deducting the above increase of debts from the increase of assets, an improvement would appear to have been made in the com- pany's affairs in the course of the year to the amount of		762,821
But the following sums remain to be deducted for bills on account of India, adjusted but not in- cluded in the Indian debt, or in that at home,	391,915	
For the value of cargoes to India included in the home assets, but arrived so as to form part of the stock there on the thirtieth of april, 1800	<u>280,441</u>	<u>672,356</u>
The remaining total,		<u>£.90,465</u>

Is the amount in which the general state of the whole concern has amended during the last year, subject, however, to such adjustments as may result from the settlement of the account between government and the company.'

POLITICAL STATE OF BENGAL.

The following is an abstract from a work written by Gholaum Hossein Khan, entitled "*Seir Mutakharin*," or View of Modern Times; which contains

* Appendix to Annual Register. 1801. 164.

contains an examination of the English government and policy previous to the year 1780. And it will, no doubt, be satisfactory to the reader to observe that some of the chief causes of distress to the Indians inhabiting the English provinces, and their disaffection with the English government in that country, have been removed by the late regulations made in the administration of justice and other matters wherein the comfort of the natives is involved.

After adverting to the vast extent of Hindostan, the diversity of climates, the fertility of the soil, the singular character of the people, and their peculiar manners, customs, maxims, and institutions, and to the delicate configuration of their bodies, and the deficiency of mental energy, which fitted them for the yoke of foreign conquerors, the writer, descants on the virtues and good policy of the first mussulman princes.—He dates the origin of the evils which the Indians now feel in the reign of Aurengzib, “a prince “ who united a warlike and ambitious genius to a cruel disposition.” These increased during the reigns of his successors.

Speaking of the changes which had taken place in the circumstances of the state and the condition of the people, among the events which these revolutions produced, says he, the introduction of Europeans into the heart of the empire is the most important and extraordinary.

This writer ascribes the unhappiness of his countrymen, and their disaffection towards the English, to twelve causes. “The first cause,” says he, “is that our new rulers are altogether unacquainted with the system of our civil policy, both with respect to the mode of estimating the revenue, and to the manner of collecting it. The province and duties of the zemindar they cannot well comprehend, for in England there is no such person. In that country subahdaries, soujdaries, khalssas, and jaghires are unknown. There the public treasures are not supplied from the produce of the soil.”—After enlarging on the difference of situation, customs and institutions, a disregard to which had occasioned discontent, he proceeds to the second cause.

“2. The slight knowledge which our English governors have obtained relative to the institutions of this country appears to be little more than what they have learned from their own native writers; who, being beardless and inexperienced and having nothing in view but their own benefit, are solely solicitous

solicitous to please their masters, without regard to truth; and therefore they mislead them by giving such information as accord with their mistaken notions.—He then places in a very striking light the inconveniencies and evils arising from this misinformation, and this disregard of national customs and institutions, and; above all, in matters of government, and the administration of justice according to the laws and practice of England.

“ Whether we respect the wisdom or the humanity of the measure, the removal of this grievance redounds much to the honour of the English government. *By the regulating act of 1793*, a system of government was founded on the broadest principles of reason and justice: it has provided *that our mussulmen and Hindoo subjects should be ruled by their own respective laws: that the mussulmen should in all cases, whether civil or criminal, be governed by the mahomedan jurisprudence; but that the Hindoos should be governed by their own laws in matters of property, and by the mahomedan law in criminal matters.*—In conformity with this act, *the revenue and judicial departments, which had before been conducted by the same officers, were now separated as much as the peculiar customs of the country would admit. A supreme native court, called the NIZAMUT ADAULUT, for the trial of civil and criminal causes, which had been before established, was now fixed at Calcutta, and the governor-general and the members of the supreme council were directed to sit as judges, assisted by the chief cazy, or mahomedan judges, and two musties, or priests, and a pundit, or Hindoo doctor of laws.—There was, likewise, established at Calcutta a supreme court of revenue called the SUDDER DEWANNY ADAULUT, at which the governor-general and members of the council sit as judges, assisted by native judges and officers of revenue.*—The writer from whose account of these admirable regulations this is extracted informs us, moreover, that the act has secured to the native inhabitants of Hindostan the peaceful enjoyment of many legal rights and privileges which their ancestors never possessed, either under the mogul government, or Hindoo monarchies.*

“ 3. The third cause which contributes to prevent a cordial reconciliation between the English and the people of the country is their differing in language, as well as in almost all the habits of life.—*To remove this cause of disaffection, the Persian, as well as the vernacular language of Hindostan,*

* Asiatic Ann. Regist. 83 to 99 of third part.

Hindostan, are now learned and spoken by all the company's officers, both civil and military, and by all who are desirous to recommend themselves to appointments.

" 4. A fourth cause is the frequent change of persons who fill the chief appointments in the company's service.

" 5. A fifth cause is the extreme slowness with which the proceedings of the governing councils are carried on.

" 6. A sixth cause is the great difference between the English way of giving public audience to suitors, and the Hindostan mode of receiving them in open durbar.—This cause of complaint was first removed by Mr. Hastings; who revived the custom of holding public durbars, which has been continued by his successors.

" 7. A seventh cause is, that the English company engross the whole commerce of the country, and the natives have been thereby deprived of many advantages which they formerly enjoyed.—In speaking upon this article the writer does honour to Mr. Hastings, for the means used by him to prevent abuses in this department.

" 8. The eighth cause is the overgrown power of the zemindars, and the mistaken confidence placed in them by government.* It is an undeniable truth that the zemindars are a refractory, faithless class of people, whom nothing but present interest can bind, and who always require to be superintended in the exercise of their duties with the most unremitted strictness.

" 9. A ninth cause exists in that custom of the English of appointing men to offices according to rank and seniority, instead of talents and merit.

" 10. A tenth cause is the partiality which the English shew to their own countrymen, and even to the meanest of their native dependants.

" 11. The eleventh cause is the establishment of what is called the SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE.—*This grievance was removed by the regulating act of 1793.*

" 12. The

* "Among the lands assessed to the revenue," says the writer on proprietary right, &c. "the condition of large zemindaries is more deplorable than that of estates of moderate extent. The zemindary of one individual comprehended 13,000 square miles. The estate we allude to has been considerably reduced, but yet continues a wide property; and several others are very extensive."—*Asiatic Register*. 67 of *Miscellanies*.

" 12. The twelfth cause is discoverable in that custom of the English executive government, of deciding in private such matters as our princes used to adjust or decide on in open court."

The translator of this work from the Persic language satisfactorily controverts the idea entertained by some that it is spurious; adducing, among other testimonies of its being genuine, the encomium passed on the author by sir William Jones, in his discourse to the Asiatic society, in the following words: "for modern Indian history we have ample materials in Persian, from Ali of Yezd, to Gholaun Hussein, whom many of us personally know, and whose impartiality deserves the highest applause."

Those who are desirous of further information on the subjects of the preceding abstracts may be gratified by the perusal of the original works. What is here given is intended only for the satisfaction of such as have not an opportunity of recurring to them.

ARMY.

The author of the Life of Hyder Ali, which was published in 1784, states the forces of the English in India to be 90,000 men; viz. eight regiments of English infantry of 1,000 men each; three on the establishment of Madras, three on that of Bengal, and two on that of Bombay; besides 1,200 men forming the artillery companies on the several establishments, and about 1,200 invalids in garrison.—About 4,000 cavalry; 1,200 of which were on the Madras establishment; but the greater part of these were Indian.—The remainder consisted of sepoys,* and other native troops.

EXTENT, POPULATION AND REVENUE OF THE SOUTHERN COUNTRIES OF INDIA.

Captain Mackenzie cites an approved work, published a short time before his History of the War with Tippoo Sultan, which gives the following account of these countries: "That part of the Decan, or peninsula of India, south of the river Kistnah, in latitude $16\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north, and
" extending

* Asiatic Ann. Regist. 1802. 111 of third part.

† Idem.

‡ Life of Hyder Ali. 2. 17.

“ extending in a triangular form to Cape Comorin, between the two coasts
 “ of Malabar and Coromandel, comprehends in all an area of one hundred
 “ and forty thousand square geographical miles; of which the British
 “ dominions, including the circar of Guntour, the Carnatic payengaut, and
 “ its dependencies of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Tinevelly, Travancore, &c.
 “ comprise about 50,000; the districts of Carnoul, Raichore, &c. under
 “ the protection of the nizam, 4,000; and the nabobship of Sanore, with
 “ the independent rajahships of Bari, or Bounselo, of Koork and others
 “ in the Balagaut hills of Malabar, at least 6,000 more; leaving 80,000
 “ for the square dimensions of all the actual possessions of Tippoo.—
 “ As this calculation is confirmed by major Rennell, whose abilities as a
 “ geographer are universally known, it is fair to admit that no truth
 “ can be better established.”

FORCE AND REVENUE OF TIPPOT SULTAN.

Captain Mackenzie assents to the statement before mentioned respecting the extent of Tippoo's dominions before the war commenced in 1790. He supposes that his revenue was about £3,000,000, after deducting for expences of collecting. He states the population of his states at 6,000,000 of inhabitants; and his army at 135,000 regular, well-disciplined troops, together with a standing militia of 180,000 of various denominations.^a

AMERICAN

AMERICAN STATES.

THE history of the establishment of the American States, their subsequent institutions, and the principal articles of the present constitution, having been already given, all that remains which is compatible with the nature and design of these miscellanies, is to give the reader a general idea of their extent and population, their financial system, their products, their trade, their literary institutions, and their military establishment.

EXTENT.

The following calculations, we are informed by an historian of the United States, were made from actual measurement, by I. Hutchins, geographer to the States.

The territory of the United States contains, by computation, a million	ACRES.
of square miles, in which are	640,000,000
Deduct for what is covered by water,	51,000,000
Acres of land,	589,000,000*

DIVISION AND POPULATION.

The American republic consists of three grand divisions, denominated the NORTHERN, MIDDLE, and SOUTHERN:—we cannot have a better idea of the relative weight of the states which constitute it than from the following

* Winterbotham. 1. 176. Cox. 84.

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following statement of its population, and the subsequent statement of their exports and imports,

NORTHERN DIVISION.

	MALES.	FEMALES.
Vermont,	44,763	40,505
New Hampshire,	70,937	70,160
District of Maine belonging to Massachusetts, <i>not given</i>		
Massachusetts,	182,742	190,582
Rhode Island,	31,818	32,652
Connecticut,	114,926	117,448

MIDDLE DIVISION.

New York,	161,822	152,302
New Jersey,	86,667	83,297
Pennsylvania,	217,736	206,263
Delaware,	23,926	22,384
Territory north-west of the Ohio,	16,548	15,365

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

Maryland,	107,254	101,395
Virginia,	227,071	215,046
Kentucky,	32,211	28,922
North Carolina,	147,494	140,710
South Carolina,	73,298	66,980
Georgia,	27,147	25,739

FINANCE.

“ The natural tax of moderate governments,” Montesquieu observes,
 “ is the duty laid on merchandise. As this is really paid by the consumer,
 “ though advanced by the merchant, it is a loan which the merchant has
 “ already made to the consumer.” “ It is therefore obvious,” he says,
 “ that in proportion to the moderation of the government, to the pre-
 “ valence of the spirit of liberty, and to the security of private fortunes,
 “ the merchant’s power is increased to advance money to the state and
 “ to pay considerable duties to individuals. In England a merchant lends
 “ really

" really to the government fifty or sixty pounds sterling for every tun
 " of wine he imports. Where is the merchant that would venture to do
 " so in Turkey? ^b

The Americans have been led by the dictates of good sense to adopt a system of finance correspondent with the sentiments of this intelligent civilian and philosopher. By far the greatest part of the revenue is raised by duties on the export and import of merchandise. The sums total of their expenditure in 1794 were as follow:

Civil list	397,201 dollars.
For making good deficiencies for the support of the civil list es- tablishment, &c.	147,689
War department,	1,457,835
	<u>2,002,725</u> ^c

According to the account given by Mr. Coxe, assistant-secretary to the States, their revenues in 1791 were estimated at 3,329,750 dollars, and in 1792 at 3,700,000; and they had always exceeded the estimates. —The same writer says that in the two ensuing years the revenues were advanced in proportion to the advance made by them in agriculture and commerce, and that the *surplus* revenue of 1793 amounted to 2,300,000 dollars.

According to him, " about eleven millions sterling would purchase or discharge all the debts of the United States, which they owe to individuals or to bodies politic other than themselves."—A part of the above surplus was applied to the reduction of this debt and the payment of interest on the remainder, and part to the providing for the public defence and protection.^d

COMMERCE.

The following statement of goods exported between october 1 1792, and october 1 1793, shews the extent of the American foreign trade, and also the relative amount of its exports to different countries.

SUMMARY

^b Esprit de Loix. liv. 13. ch. 14.

^c Winterbotham, 1. 239. 251.

^d Tench Coxe's View. 496. Winterbotham, 1. 253.

SUMMARY OF EXPORTS.

	DOLLARS.
To the dominions of Russia,	5,769
To the dominions of Sweden,	301,427
To the dominions of Denmark,	870,508
To the dominions of the United Netherlands,	3,169,536
To the dominions of Great Britain,	8,431,239
To the imperial ports of the Austrian Netherlands and Germany,	1,013,347
To Hamburg, Bremen, and other Hans Towns,	792,537
To the dominions of France,	7,050,498
To the dominions of Spain,	2,237,950
To the dominions of Portugal,	997,590
To the Italian ports,	220,688
To Morocco,	2,094
To the East Indies, generally,	253,131
To Africa, generally,	251,343
To the West Indies, generally,	399,559
To the North-west Coast of America,	1,586
Uncertain,	3,986
Total,	26,011,788

The following statement of the value of goods, wares, and merchandise, *exported* from the United States, enables us to judge of the relative amount of the trade of *each state*.

EXPORTS BETWEEN OCTOBER 1 1792, AND SEPTEMBER 30 1793.

	DOLLARS.
New Hampshire,	198,197
Massachusetts,	3,676,412
Rhode Island,	616,416
Connecticut,	770,239
New York,	2,934,370
New Jersey,	54,176

Pennsylvania,

MISCELLANIES.

	DOLLARS.
Pennsylvania	6,958,736
Delaware,	71,242
Maryland	3,687,119
Virginia,	2,984,317
North Carolina,	363,307
South Carolina,	8,195,874
Georgia,	501,383
Total	<u>26,011,788</u>

We shall be assisted in making our estimate by the following statement of duties *on imports* between october 1 1790, and september 30 1791.

	NET DUTIES.
New Hampshire,	27,000 dollars.
Massachusetts,	420,707
Rhode Island,	107,102
Connecticut,	106,351
New York,	619,534
New Jersey,	6,598
Pennsylvania,	707,955
Delaware,	18,283
Maryland,	322,964
Virginia,	334,995
North Carolina,	58,861
South Carolina,	234,082
Georgia,	42,285
Total of net duties,	<u>3,006,517 *</u>

The following statement of the tonnage of vessels which have paid duty in the ports of the United States between october 1 1791, and september 30 1792, enables us to judge of the extent of their trade, and also of the relative amount of their trade to different countries.

TO

* Winterbotham. 6. 274.

AMERICAN STATES.

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TO WHAT NATION BELONGING.

	TONS.
To the United States	549,279
To the United States and foreign nations, jointly,	407
To France,	24,443
To Great Britain,	209,646
To Spain,	3,148
To United Netherlands,	3,123
To Portugal,	2,843
To Hamburgh and Bremen,	5,677
To Denmark,	752
To Sweden,	943
Total,	<u>800,261</u>

The following statement of the number of skins and furs exposed to sale at the New York coffee-house, in London, in the year 1794, is deserving our notice, as it shews the vast extent of the trade and will enable us to judge of the profit which America derives from it.

209,892 racoon	780 wolverin
25,674 bear	31,370 musquash
34,300 martin	7,798 rabbit and white hare
145,830 beaver	10,785 kid
29,845 otter	304,130 deer
5,840 opossum	1,085 elk
13,220 cat	6,890 seals
57,580 mink	983 lamb
10,090 wolf	4,820 squirrel
18,930 fox	8,300 fisher

There are several other articles of export of great importance, some of which are capable of being enlarged. One of these is iron; which is found in considerable quantities in several of the states.—Another is, tar, pitch,

pitch, and turpentine.—Another is sugar procured from the juice of the maple tree.^f—Another is timber of various kinds.—Another is pot and pearl ashes; of which the province of Massachusetts alone has exported to the amount of 200,000 dollars in one year.

Fisheries are another very considerable source of profit to the States; it is, moreover, one for which their situation is particularly well adapted, which might be greatly extended, and might be made instrumental to the promoting other means of wealth.^g

..... AGRICULTURE.

Important as the foregoing objects are to the American states, agriculture is still more so. On this it principally depends not only for subsistence, but for the employment of its inhabitants, and for its most valuable articles of export. "Calculations carefully made," says the last cited writer, "do not raise the proportion of property, or the number of men employed in manufactures, fisheries, navigation and trade, to one-eighth of the property and people occupied by agriculture, even in the commercial state of New England."—The disproportion is much greater, he says, taking the union at large.^h—We shall be better enabled to judge of this by attending to the following articles.

Beside the grain consumed by their own inhabitants, &c. the States exported, in the year ending in september 1792, 3,145,255 bushels of different kinds of grain.

1,469,723 barrels of flour, meal, &c.

116,803 barrels of beef, pork, &c.

112,428 hogsheads of tabacco.

52,382 hogsheads of flax seed.

44,752 horses and horned cattle.

In the southern states rice is a very considerable product, and is superior to that of Italy or the Levant in quality.—Indigo and cotton are likewise very considerable products in the same states, and are likely to be extended.ⁱ

BANK.

^f See Hist. of American States. 1790. ^g Coxe. 79. 86. 90. 91 ^h Idem. 7. ⁱ Idem. 86. 434.

BANK.

To promote commerce and manufactures, and to forward every undertaking for the benefit of the states, a bank was incorporated by act of congress in 1791, by the style of *president, directors, and company of the bank of the United States*.—The amount of the capital stock is ten millions of dollars, one-fourth of which is in gold and silver; the other three-fourths in that part of the public debt of the United States, which, at the time of payment, bears an accruing interest of six per cent.—Two millions of this capital stock is subscribed by the president in the name of the United States.*

SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

Among the institutions to advance the prosperity of America, we ought to mention the society of CINCINNATI, formed by the American officers, at the close of the war with England, with a view of reconciling the minds of their military brethren to the private life to which they were then returning.—Their declared principles were these—"An incessant attention to preserve inviolate the exalted rights and liberties of human nature, for which they had fought and bled.—An unalterable determination to promote and cherish union and national honour between the respective states.—To render cordial affection and the spirit of brotherly kindness permanent among the officers.—And to extend acts of beneficence towards those officers and their families who may unfortunately be under the necessity of receiving it."

SCIENCES AND LETTERS.

Sciences and letters may be said to owe their foundation in America to doctor Benjamin Franklin.—He was bred a printer; was apprenticed to that art at Philadelphia, and in his earliest years he made every possible advantage of it to diffuse science and knowledge in all its branches among his countrymen.

* Winterbotham. 1. 363.

† Idem. 1. 261.

countrymen.—Natural and experimental philosophy were his favourite study: and America may be said to have produced her first-fruits of science in the discoveries which this celebrated philosopher made in electricity. —Under his auspices a philosophical society was formed at Philadelphia in 1769, which was incorporated in 1780. The president's chair was, in 1794, very honourably filled by Mr. Rittenhouse.*

With the same view of promoting knowledge, an *academy* of arts and sciences was incorporated by the state of Massachusetts; which, whilst it directed its attention to philosophical objects in general, directed it more particularly to the exploring the antiquities and natural history of America, and discovering the uses to which its natural productions may be applied.

ARMY AND NAVY.

The American States, adhering to the pacific line of policy recommended by Washington and enforced by good sense and a regard to their essential interests, have cautiously avoided embarking in war, or entering into any engagements which may eventually lead to it. Availing themselves of their situation, remote from the seats of those wars which ambition and rivalry have occasioned among the European powers, and making economy the nurse of their infant state, they have avoided the expence of a regular naval force; relying on the resources which their maritime, commercial strength, with their own exertions, would afford them in case of need. They have, also, kept their military establishment very low.—In 1794 it consisted of only five thousand regular troops, enlisted for three years.—An augmentation was about the time proposed, on account of the dangers which then threatened the states; but the house of representatives rejected the proposal;† choosing rather to rest on their national militia than deviate from their original principles.

ARTICLE

* Winterbotham. 1. 305.

† Idem. 365.

ARTICLE II.**GENEALOGY OF SOVEREIGN PRINCES.**

THE connexion between the genealogy of sovereign princes and the history of the ages in which they have lived, and the usefulness of the former to illustrate many passages in the latter, may, perhaps, render the following outlines of the pedigrees of the chief families in Europe interesting to the reader.

HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.

According to Moreri, the genealogy of this family cannot be traced with certainty further back than the thirteenth century.—Rodolph count of Hapsburg, who was elected emperor in 1273, has been generally deemed its founder. From him descended Maximilian, who was created archduke of Austria by his father, the emperor Frederic the Third, and was elected emperor in 1486.—By his marriage with Mary, heiress of Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy, he added the extensive and rich dominions of that prince to those of the house of Austria. He had by her several children; of whom the eldest was Philip, who married Joan, heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile and Arragon; by whom he had, beside other children, Charles, founder of the Spanish branch of the house of Austria,

3 N 2 and

and Ferdinand to whom his brother resigned his German dominions in 1556; and who acquired Hungary and Bohemia by his marriage with Anne, heiress of the last king, Ladislaus.—From him descended Maximilian the Second—Rodolph the Second—Matthias—Ferdinand the Second—and Ferdinand the Third, who married the infanta, Mary Anne, daughter of Philip the Third of Spain. On her descent was founded the claim of the archduke Charles to the crown of Spain, which occasioned the war of 1702. By this princess Ferdinand had the emperor LEOPOLD; who had, by his third empress Magdalen Theresa, daughter of Philip elector Palatine, beside other children, the archdukes Joseph and Charles, who were successively raised to the imperial throne in 1705 and 1711.

The emperor Charles the Sixth married Elizabeth of Brunswick Wolfembuttel; and had by her Maria Theresa, married to Stephen duke of Lorrain, and Anne, married to his brother, prince Charles of Lorrain.—By default of male heirs, Maria Theresa succeeded to the hereditary dominions of the Austrian house, agreeably to the *pragmatic sanction*, and accomplished the election of her husband to the imperial crown.

This illustrious princess had four sons: Joseph, who succeeded her in 1780, having been raised to the imperial throne on the death of the emperor Stephen in 1765. Peter Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, afterwards emperor. Charles Anthony, governor of Milan: and Maximilian Xavier archbishop of Cologne. She had also six daughters: Josepha, abbess of Prague; Christiana, married to the duke of Saxe Teschen: Elizabeth, who died unmarried: Amelia, married to the duke of Parma: Caroline, married to the king of Naples: Maria Antoinette, married to Lewis the Sixteenth of France.

Joseph the Second married successively Elizabeth, daughter of the duke of Parma, and Josephina of Bavaria; but had no children.—Peter Leopold, who succeeded him married the infanta, Maria Louisa of Spain, by whom he had seven sons and four daughters.—Dying in 1792, he was succeeded by his son Francis the Second, who was born in 1768.—He married in 1790 Maria Theresa, daughter of the king of Naples, by whom he has three sons and four daughters.

HOUSE

 HOUSE OF AUSTRIA IN SPAIN.

THE archduke Philip, (son of the emperor Maximilian) who was duke of Burgundy in right of his mother, heiress of that duchy, entitled his son to the inheritance of the crowns of Castile and Arragon by his marriage with Joan, heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella. He had by her Charles, who succeeded to those kingdoms by the title of Charles the First, and was elected emperor by that of Charles the Fifth.—Charles resigned the crown of Spain to Philip the Second, his son by Isabella of Portugal, in 1555.—Philip the Second was succeeded in 1598 by Philip the Third, his son by Anne, daughter of the emperor Maximilian the Second.—Philip the Third married Margaret, daughter of Charles archduke of Gratz; by whom he had his successor, Philip the Fourth—Anne Mary, married to Lewis the Thirteenth—Mary Anne, married to the emperor Ferdinand the Third, and other children.—Philip the Fourth succeeded his father in 1621. He had by his first queen, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry the Fourth of France, Maria Theresa, married to Lewis the Fourteenth—and by his second queen, Mary Anne, daughter of the emperor Ferdinand the Third, he had his successor, Charles the Second—Maria Margaret Theresa, married to the emperor Leopold, and other children who died unmarried.

Charles the second, son of Philip the Fourth, and the last sovereign of the house of Austria, was born 1661 and succeeded his father 1665.—He married, 1679, Maria Louisa, daughter of Philip duke of Orleans.—She dying without children in 1689, he, the same year, married Mary Anne, daughter of Philip-W. elector of Bavaria.—The king having no heir, the succession to his dominions became a concern which very deeply interested the powers of Europe; who were apprehensive that the balance of power would be destroyed, should this rich inheritance be added either to the kingdom of France or the Austrian dominions. To prevent this a partition-treaty was formed in 1689, by which the crown of Spain was given to the electoral prince of Bavaria; Naples, Sicily, and some other territories in Italy to the dauphin; and Milan to the archduke Charles. But on the death

death of the electoral prince in 1700, a second treaty was signed, by which the crown of Spain was settled on the archduke; Naples and Sicily were again given to the dauphin, and some alterations made in favour of France respecting the other Italian dominions. In the meantime the Spanish court became a scene of intrigue; in which the Austrian party were supported by the queen and count Harasch, and that of France by the marquis de Hatcourt, who by his insinuating address secured cardinal Portocarrero and other men of great influence. The king, wrought upon by Portocarrero, and disgusted at hearing that his monarchy was arbitrarily divided by the partitioning powers, determined if possible to defeat their purpose by bequeathing his crown and dominions entire to Philip, duke of Anjou, grandson of Lewis the Fourteenth.—CHARLES died november 1700.—According to the president Henault, the order of his heirs was as follows—1. The children of Maria Theresa, wife of Lewis the Fourteenth, daughter by the *first* queen of Philip the Fourth.—2. The electoral prince of Bavaria, whose mother was the archduchess Mary Ann, daughter of the emperor Leopold by Margaret Theresa, daughter by the *second* queen of Philip the Fourth.—3. The duke of Orleans, brother of Lewis the Fourteenth, and younger son of Ann of Austria, wife of Lewis the Thirteenth, and *eldest* daughter of Philip the Third.—4. The archduke Charles, whose grandmother Mary Ann of Austria, wife of the emperor Ferdinand the Third, was a *younger* daughter of Philip the Third.—5. The duke of Savoy in right of Catharine his great-grandmother, daughter of Philip the Second.

HOUSE OF BAVARIA PALATINE.

DESCENT.

THE two houses of Bavaria and the Palatine of the Rhine derive their origin from Otto or Otho count of Wittlesbach, to whom the emperor Frederic the First (Barbarossa) granted the duchy of Bavaria in 1180, upon the expulsion of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. And, according to Busching, the emperor Frederic the Second in 1215 granted
to

to Lewis, son of Otho, the palatinate of the Rhine; whose son **Otho the Second** in 1225 married Agnes, heiress of Henry count Palatine, son of Henry the Lion. From Otho it descended to Lewis the Second; upon whose death in 1294 his dominions were divided between his two sons.—Rodolph, the eldest, had the palatinate of the Rhine and was also, invested with the electorate. And Upper Bavaria was given to Lewis.—From Rodolph the palatinate passed to Adolphus, Rodolph the Second, Robert, Robert the Second and Robert the Third, who divided his domains between his four sons; of whom Stephen, the youngest, obtained the duchy of Simmeren and Deux Ponts, and was the founder of that branch. The palatinate descended to his eldest son, Lewis the Third, and from him to Lewis the Fourth—Philip the First—Robert the Fourth—and Otho Henry, in whom this line became extinct, 1559.—Stephen, duke of Simmeren, &c. alienated the duchy of Deux Ponts in favour of his second son, Lewis, who thus became the founder of the branch of Deux Ponts; and the duchy of Simmeren passed to Frederic, John the First, and John the Second, whose son Frederic the Third, upon failure of heirs to Otho Henry, 1559, succeeded to the palatinate. From him it descended to Lewis the Fifth—Frederic the Fourth—Frederic the Fifth, who married Elizabeth daughter of James the First of England—Charles Lewis the First—and Charles the Second, who died without heirs 1685.—The duchy of Deux Ponts descended from Lewis duke of Deux Ponts, son of Stephen duke of Simmeren, in succession to Alexander—Lewis—and Wolfgang.—The last of these, who had the duchy of Neuburg from Otho Henry, Elector Palatine, divided his dominions between his five sons.—To his *eldest*, Philip Lewis, he gave the duchy of Neuburg, whose grand-son, Philip William became elector Palatine on the death of the above Charles the Second: and whose third son, Augustus, was the founder of the branch of Sultzbach, which succeeded to the electorate on the extinction of the line of Philip William in his son Charles Philip in 1742.—His *second* son, John, continued the line of Deux Ponts, from which sprang the branches of Landsberg and Kleburg. (Vide infra.)—His *third* son, Otho Henry, count of Sultzbach, died without male heirs. As did also his *fourth* son, Frederic count of Veldentz.—His *fifth* son, Charles, was duke of Birkenfeld.—On the extinction of the direct line of Deux Ponts in 1661, † Charles duke of

† Moreri dates it 1661 and Busching 1681.

of Bavaria Kleburg succeeded to that duchy. And on the extinction of the Kleburg branch by the death of Gustavus Samuel Leopold, heir of Charles the Twelfth without issue 1731, it passed to Christian the Third of Birkenfeld.

Charles Theodore of Bavaria Sultzbach, was born 1718.—Succeeded to the palatinate and electoral dignity on the extinction of the Neuburg line in Charles Philip, 1742. And to the duchy of Bavaria in 1777.—Charles Theodore has no son; and the duke of Deux Ponts Birkenfeld is his presumptive heir.

HOUSE OF BAVARIA KLEBURG ON THE THRONE OF SWEDEN.

JOHN CASIMIR, duke of Bavaria Kleburg, of the branch of Deux Ponts, married 1615 Catharine, daughter of Charles the Ninth king of Sweden and half-sister of the great Gustavus Adolphus; by whom he had, beside other children, Charles Gustavus, who was raised to the throne of Sweden, 1654, on the abdication of his cousin-german, Christina, by the name of Charles the Tenth.

Charles the Tenth, king of Sweden and duke of Bavaria Kleburg, was succeeded on the throne, in 1660, by Charles the Eleventh, his son by Hedwige Eleanora of Holstein Gottorp.—Charles the Eleventh married the princess Ulrica of Denmark, and had by her, beside other children, Charles the Twelfth, who succeeded him in 1697.—That celebrated monarch was killed at Fredericshall in 1718, and, not having been married, he was succeeded on the throne by his sister Ulrica, who was before married to Frederic landgrave of Hesse, to whom she resigned the sovereign authority.—On Frederic's death in 1751 without children, the crown of Sweden passed to the house of Holstein.

HOUSE

 HOUSE OF UPPER BAVARIA.

THE common ancestor of the Palatine and Bavarian families was, as has been already seen, Lewis the Second, duke of Bavaria and count Palatine.—Lewis, (who died 1294) dividing his dominions between his two sons, Upper Bavaria was given to his younger son, Lewis.—He married first Beatrix, daughter of the duke of Glogaw; and afterwards Margaret, heiress of William count of Hainault, &c. During his time Lower Bavaria, which had been the portion of a younger branch, devolved to him; and was again alienated by him in favour of his younger son Albert, who became count of Hainault in right of his mother: but it returned again to the house of Bavaria by the death of his son William without male heir 1417.—The emperor Sigismund would have granted it to his son-in-law Albert the Fifth of Austria, son of Albert the Fourth and Jane, daughter of the above Albert, count of Hainault. But it being a male fief, the measure was opposed by the German princes as contrary to the spirit of the Germanic constitution.* Stephen, son of the above Lewis, dividing his domains between his three sons, Stephen the eldest had the duchy of Ingolstadt—Frederic had Landshut—and John had Munich.—The two first becoming extinct in 1445 and 1503, the whole domains devolved to Albert the Fifth, duke of Bavaria Munich.—A regulation was afterwards made to prevent any future dismemberments.—The electoral dignity was granted to Maximilian the First, 1623, on the forfeiture of it by Frederic elector Palatine.

From this prince descended Maximilian Emanuel, duke and elector of Bavaria, who was distinguished by the part he bore in the war for the Spanish succession in 1712.

He was succeeded in 1726 by Charles Albert, his son by Theresa, daughter of John Sobieski king of Poland; a prince who is brought forward by Johnson as an example of the adverse fortune attending on elevated stations, in his beautiful imitation of Juvenal's tenth satire:

All

* See 1777.

*All times their scenes of pompous woes afford,
from Persia's tyrant to Bavaria's lord.*

He was raised to the imperial throne in 1742, and died of grief in 1745.

Charles Maximilian, his son by Amelia, daughter of the emperor Joseph the First, succeeded him in the duchy and electorate; and having no children by Anne Sophia of Saxony, he was succeeded in 1778 by Charles Theodore, elector Palatine.

HOUSE OF BOURBON.

THE common ancestor of the different branches of the family of Bourbon was Lewis the Ninth,^b who died 1270.—He had six sons—four of whom left no male heirs. His *second son*, Philip the Third of France, had four sons. (1.) Lewis, who died young. (2.) Philip, who succeeded to the crown, and was the father of Lewis the Tenth, Philip the Fifth, and Charles the Fourth, the last sovereign of the *direct Capetian line*.—(3.) Charles, count of Valois, father of Philip de Valois, who, (in opposition to Edward the Third of England) succeeded Charles the Fourth and was the ancestor of the three branches of the house of Valois, which terminated in Charles the Eighth—Lewis the Twelfth, the last sovereign of the line of *Valois-Orleans*—and Henry the Third, the last of that of *Valois-Orleans d'Angoulesme*.—(4.) Lewis count d'Evreux, whose son Philip was king of Navarre in right of his wife, the heiress of that crown.—The *sixth son* of Lewis the Ninth was Robert de Clermont, seigneur de Bourbon, who was the ancestor of the three houses of Bourbon *Clermont*, *Montpensier* and *La Marche*.—On the extinction of the house of Valois in Henry the Third, the direct line of Clermont having expired in 1487, the right to the crown would have descended to the second of these. But that having become extinct in Charles, duke of Bourbon, constable of France, who fell at the siege of Rome in 1527, and the *direct line* of La Marche being also extinct, it devolved

^b Or Saint Lewis.

devolved to Henry of Navarre, prince of Bearn, son of Anthony de Bourbon, duke de Vendosme, who married Jane heiress of Henry d'Albert king of Navarre, and who was himself descended from the *second* son of John count de la Marche and was the representative of that line.—Henry of Navarre married first Margaret, sister of his predecessor, by whom he had no child and from whom he was divorced; and afterwards Mary, daughter of Francis de Medicis grand duke of Tuscany, by whom he had Lewis the Thirteenth, his successor—Gaston duke of Orleans—Elizabeth married to Philip the Fourth of Spain—Christiana, to Victor Amadeus duke of Savoy—and Henrietta, to Charles the First of England.—Lewis the Thirteenth married Anne of Austria, daughter of Philip the Third of Spain, and had by her Lewis the Fourteenth, and Philip, created duke of Orleans on failure of male heirs to Gaston.

Lewis the Fourteenth, who succeeded his father in 1643, at five years of age, after a very long reign, distinguished by many memorable events, was destined to suffer great afflictions in his last years, particularly from the deaths of his descendants.—The dauphin Lewis, by the infanta Maria Theresa, died in 1711.—Lewis duke of Burgundy, son of that prince by Mary Anne of Bavaria, died in 1712.—The dauphin Lewis, son of the duke of Burgundy by the princess Adelaide of Savoy, died the same year. And Charles duke of Berry, third son of the dauphin Lewis and grandson of Lewis the Fourteenth, died in 1714.

The result of this mortality was that Lewis the Fourteenth was succeeded on the throne in 1715 by his great grandson, Lewis the Fifteenth, second son of the duke of Burgundy.—Lewis had by Mary Leczinski, daughter of Stanislaus king of Poland, beside seven daughters who died unmarried, the dauphin Lewis and madame de France, married to Philip duke of Parma.

The dauphin had no surviving child by his first dauphiness, the infanta Maria Theresa. By his second, Josepha daughter of AUGUSTUS THE THIRD of Poland, he had Lewis—Lewis Stanislaus Xavier count of Provence—Charles Philip count d'Artois—Maria Adelaide, married to the prince of Piedmont—The princess Elizabeth, whom we have seen brought to the scaffold, a victim to fraternal affection; and several children who died infants.

The dauphin Lewis dying in 1766, Lewis the Fifteenth was succeeded, at his decease in 1774, by his grandson, the unfortunate Lewis the Sixteenth, born in 1754.—He had, by the archduchess Maria Antoinette, the princess Maria Theresa, born 1778. The dauphin Lewis born 1781, who died in 1789. Charles duke of Normandy, afterwards dauphin, who was born 1785, and died in 1795; and the princess Sophia born 1786, married to the duke d'Engoulesme, son of the count d'Artois.

ORLEANS BRANCH OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON.

PHILIP, the first duke of Orleans of this family, was the second son of Lewis the Thirteenth by Anne of Austria. He had by his first duchess, Henrietta daughter of Charles the First, Louisa married to Charles the Second of Spain, and Anne married to Victor Amadeus duke of Savoy.—By his second, Elizabeth of Bavaria, he had Philip, his heir.—Philip, well-known by the appellation of the regent duke of Orleans, a prince of talents but notorious for his debaucheries, had by Frances de Bourbon, a natural daughter of Lewis the Fourteenth, beside other children, his heir, Lewis duke of Orleans.—Lewis had, by a princess of the house of Baden, his heir, Lewis Philip, whose son and heir, by a daughter of the prince of Conti, was the infamous Lewis Philip, last duke of Orleans, denominated *Egalité*.

CONDE AND CONTI BRANCHES OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON.

THE Condé branch of the house of Bourbon derives its origin from Lewis, first prince of Condé, son of Charles de Bourbon, duke of Vendosme, grandfather of Henry the Fourth of France.—Lewis was the grandfather of Henry prince of Condé, who signalized himself in the civil wars of Henry the Fourth and Lewis the Thirteenth.—He married Margaret de Montmorency: by whom he had Lewis prince of Condé, so celebrated for

for his heroic actions in the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, and Armand de Bourbon, founder of the branch of Conti.—Lewis prince of Condé was grand-father of Lewis duke of Bourbon, who had a command in the army of Lewis the Fourteenth and behaved with great valour and conduct at the battle of Steenkirk, and Neerwinde. He was father of Lewis duke of Bourbon and grandfather of Joseph Lewis prince of Condé, born 1736; who is father of the duke of Bourbon, born in 1756, and grandfather of the duke d'Enghien, born in 1772, arrested, by order of Buonaparte, in the territories of Baden in 1804.

BRANCH OF THE HOUSE OF BOURBON ON THE THRONE OF SPAIN.

PHILIP THE FIFTH, son of the dauphin Lewis and Mary Anne of Bavaria, and grandson of Lewis the Fourteenth and Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip the Fourth of Spain, was born 1683.—His grandmother had renounced her right to the Spanish crown on her marriage with Lewis the Fourteenth, and that monarch had virtually done the same by his accession to the partition treaties. But while he was deceiving the parties interested in these by an apparent acquiescence in them, the marquis de Harcourt was practising all the arts of a consummate courtier to procure a will from the weak, debilitated Spanish monarch in favour of the house of Bourbon. He at last effected his design by means of cardinal Portocarrero, who prevailed upon him upon his death-bed to make a will, by which Philip duke of Anjou was declared heir to the whole monarchy. This occasioned a war of twelve years with the emperor and his allies, which terminated with the treaties of Utrecht, Radstadt, and Baden, by which his right was acknowledged.—He married 1701, M. Louisa Gabriella of Savoy, a princess who was eminent for her good sense and her wise and virtuous conduct; by whom he had Lewis, born in 1707, and Ferdinand, born 1713; to the former of whom he resigned his crown in 1724; but was prevailed upon to resume it upon the death of that prince a few months after.—On the death of queen Gabriella he married Elizabeth Farnese, daughter of Edward prince of Parma; by whom he had don Carlos, who became king of Naples in

in 1736, and of Spain in 1759—Philip duke of Parma—Lewis Anthony archbishop of Toledo—M. A. Victoria queen of Portugal—Maria Theresa, married to the duke of Burgundy, afterwards dauphin—and Maria Antoinetta queen of Sardinia.—During the life of the princess of Savoy the Spanish councils were much influenced by the princess des Ursins, a lady of great talents and a warm partisan of France.—On the king's marriage with the princess of Parma, she was instantly dismissed; and the government was conducted by the queen and Cardinal Alberoni. This enterprising minister, falling in with the queen's views of gaining a settlement for her sons in Italy, prevailed upon the king to send a great force to attack the Austrian dominions in that country: which brought on a war that was terminated by the treaty of Vienna in 1720, by which the eventual succession of Tuscany and Parma was given to don Carlos.—By the treaty of Vienna, in 1736, don Carlos was put in possession of Naples, and Parma was ceded to the emperor. And by that of Aix-la-Chapelle the queen's ambition was completely gratified by the settlement of Parma and Placentia on her son, don Philip.—The king died july 1746, and the queen in 1766.

Lewis the First, son of Philip the Fifth and Gabriella of Savoy, was born 1707.—He received the crown of Spain by resignation of his father, january 1724, and died about eight months after of the smallpox.—He married L. M. Elizabeth, daughter of Philip duke of Orleans, but left no child.

Ferdinand the Sixth, son of Philip the Fifth and Gabriella of Savoy, was born 1713—succeeded his father in 1746.—He died, 1759, of grief for the loss of his queen, M. Josepha, daughter of John the Fifth of Portugal, by whom he had no issue.

Charles the Third, son of Philip the Fifth and Elizabeth Farnese, was born 1716.—By virtue of the treaty of Vienna he succeeded to the duchy of Parma on the death of Anthony, last duke of the house of Farnese.—He gained possession of Naples in 1736, which was confirmed to him by the definitive treaty with the emperor in 1738, at which time he resigned the duchy of Parma.—On the death of his half-brother, 1759, he succeeded to the crown of Spain and resigned that of Naples and Sicily to his third son, Ferdinand Anthony; his eldest being deemed incapable of governing
and

and the second being heir to the Spanish crown. He had, by Amelia daughter of Augustus king of Poland, beside other children, Charles the Fourth, who succeeded him in 1788, married in 1765 to Maria Theresa of Parma, by whom he has several children.

HOUSE OF BRAGANZA.

THE present royal family of Portugal has its descent from John duke of Braganza, (afterwards John the Fourth) who in 1640 availed himself of a revolt in Catalonia, and the aversion which the tyranny of the Spanish government had raised in his countrymen, to place himself on the throne of Portugal, of which his ancestors had been unjustly deprived by Philip the Second in 1580, on the death of king Henry without children.—He was the son of Theodosius duke of Braganza, whose mother was Catharine, daughter of Edward son of Emanuel king of Portugal; and whose father, John duke of Braganza, was a descendant of Alphonso, the natural son of John the First of Portugal, for whom that title was created.—He married Louisa de Guzman; and was father of Alphonso the Sixth who was deposed in 1667—of Peter who succeeded his brother in the throne—and of Catharine, queen of Charles the Second of England.—He died 1656.

Peter the Second, son of John the Fourth and Louisa, daughter of don Juan Manuel Perez de Guzman, duke of Medina Sidonia, was born 1648.—His elder brother Alphonso the Sixth being deprived of the sovereign power 1667 on account of his misconduct, don Pedro was invested with it under the title of regent till the death of Alphonso in 1683, when he succeeded to the crown.—He married 1668 M. F. Elizabeth, daughter of Charles duke of Nemours, from whom his brother had been divorced; by whom he had Isabella who died 1689.—On her death he married, 1687, M. Sophia Elizabeth, daughter of the duke of Neuburg, by whom he had his successor and seven other children.

John the Fifth, son of the preceding, was born 1689—succeeded his father 1706.—He married 1708 Anne daughter of the emperor Leopold, by whom he had Joseph his successor—Peter, grand inquisitor of Portugal, born

born 1717, who married his niece and enjoyed a matrimonial crown—M. Josepha, married 1746 to Ferdinand the Sixth of Spain, and two other children.—He died 1750.

Joseph the First, son of John the Fifth and the archduchess Mary Anne of Austria, was born 1714—succeeded his father 1750.—He married 1729 Mary Anne Victoria, daughter of Philip the Fifth of Spain, who had been betrothed to Lewis the Fifteenth, and, after remaining four years in France, was returned on account of her youth.—He had by her his successor Mary, F. Isabella—Mary Benedicta, married to her nephew the prince of Brazil, and two other children.—He died February 1777.

HOUSE OF BRANDENBURG.

DESCENT.

THE different branches of the house of Brandenburg, according to Busching, derive their origin from Godfrey, count of Zollern Hohenloe, who was burgrave of Nuremberg in the reign of the emperor Conrad the Third, who died 1152.—From him descended the burgrave Frederic the Fifth, to whom the electoral mark of Brandenburg was granted by the emperor Sigismund in 1415.—His descendant, the elector John George, who was born 1525, had three sons. His eldest, Joachim Frederic, continued the electoral line—the second, Christian, was the founder of the house of Brandenburg Bareith, (of which that of Culembach is a branch)—and the youngest, Joachim Ernest, was the founder of the present house of Brandenburg Anspach.—John Sigismund, son of Joachim Frederic, made a great addition to the domains and *pretensions*^b of the electoral house by his marriage with Anne, heiress of Albert Frederic duke of Prussia and Mary Eleanor, eldest daughter of William duke of Cleves, Juliers and Berg, and coheiress of the last duke John William. By her he had the domains of Albert Frederic; and also, after a warm contest with the other claimants on the domains of the duke of Cleves, obtained the

^b See 1772.

the duchy of Cleves with the countries of Mark and Ravensburg. He was the father of George William; who married a daughter of Frederic the Fourth, elector Palatine, by whom he had his successor Frederic William, born, 1620, and other children.

Frederic William, who may be considered as the founder of the greatness of this house, had by his first electress, Louisa of Orange, Frederic, his heir, and another son; and by his second, Dorothy of Holstein Glucksburg, several sons and daughters.—Frederic succeeded his father in 1688, and was honoured with the regal diadem by the emperor in 1701. He had, by his second electress, Elizabeth of Hesse Cassel, his successor Frederic William.—This monarch succeeded to the throne in 1713. He married Sophia Dorothy daughter of George the First of England, by whom he had Frederic, his heir, William Augustus, and Henry; and six daughters, married to the marquis of Brandenburg Bareith, the margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, the duke of Brunswick Wolfembuttel, the margrave of Brandenburg Schwedt, and the king of Sweden: the sixth was abbess of Queidlinburg.

Frederic the Second succeeded his father in 1740. He was married to Elizabeth of Brunswick Wolfembuttel, but had no child.

William Augustus, brother of the preceding, was born 1722—married Louisa Amelia, daughter of Frederic Albert duke of Brunswick Wolfembuttel 1742; by whom he had Frederic William, king of Prussia—Frederic H. Charles, born 1747—Frederic Sophia Wilhelmina, born 1751, married 1767 to William prince of Orange.—He died 1758.

FREDERIC WILLIAM THE SECOND, son of the preceding, was born 1744. He married, in 1765, Elizabeth Christiana Ulrica of Brunswick Wolfembuttel, by whom he had the princess Frederica Charlotte, born 1767, married in 1791 to Frederic duke of York. He was divorced from this queen in 1768; and married, in 1769, the princess Frederica Louisa of Hesse Darmstadt, by whom he had Frederic William—Frederic Charles, born 1773; and some other children.—FREDERIC WILLIAM THE THIRD, now on the throne, was born 1770, and succeeded his father in 1797. In 1793 he married the princess Louisa Augusta of Mecklenburg Strelitz, by whom he has three sons and two daughters.

 BRANCH OF BRANDENBURG ANSPACH.

THE present family of Brandenburg Anspach was founded by Joachim Ernest, third son of the elector John George.—He was the grandfather of John Frederic, who had by his second wife, a princess of Saxe Eisenach, W. Frederic, his successor, and Caroline Wilhelmina, married to George the Second of Great Britain.—W. Frederic married a daughter of the duke of Wirtemberg, by whom he had his successor Charles, who married the princess Frederica Louisa, daughter of Frederic William the Second of Prussia, by whom he had Christian Charles Frederic, the present margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, who was born 1736, and in 1754 married the princess Frederica Caroline of Saxe Saalfeld: after her death, he, in 1791, married the dowager lady Craven.

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

THE several branches of the house of Brunswick derive their descent from Azo d'Est, who had great possessions in Lombardy.—Azo coming into Germany with the emperor Conrad the Second, about 1030, and marrying the sister and heiress of Guelph, or Welfo, a Bavarian nobleman, succeeded him in his domains: and the emperor Henry the Fourth gave his eldest son, Guelph, the investiture of the duchy of Bavaria, from which Otho of Saxony was driven for rebellion.—From him descended duke Henry the Second, who received the investiture of Saxony also from the emperor Lothaire the Second, his father-in-law. But his son, Henry the Third, revolting against Frederic Barbarossa, was by him deprived of all his estates and forced to fly for refuge to Henry the Second of England, whose daughter Matilda he had married. By his means he was put in possession of the counties of Brunswick and Lunenburg; which were erected into a
 duchy

duchy by the emperor Otho the Fourth, in favour of his third son William; and which were confirmed to Otho, son of William, by the emperor Frederic the Second.—From him descended duke Magnus the Second, who was the common ancestor of the lines of Brunswick Lunenburg and the *first* line of Brunswick Wolfembüttel; his son Bernard being the founder of the former and Henry of the latter, which became extinct in 1634.—Ernest, duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, the descendant of Bernard, dying 1546, left four sons; of whom the two eldest left no heirs—his third son Henry, was the founder of the *second* line of Brunswick Wolfembüttel, and his fourth, William, continued that of Lunenburg and Zell.—Duke William had by Augusta Dorothea, daughter of Christian the Third of Denmark, seven sons; of whom the five eldest died without heirs.—His sixth son, George, married Anne, daughter of Lewis, landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt; by whom he had four sons, as underneath, and a daughter, Sophia Amella, married to Frederic the Third of Denmark.

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG AND ZELL.

CHRISTIAN LEWIS, duke of Brunswick Lunenburg and Zell and prince of Grubenhagen, was eldest son of duke George and grandson of duke William, who was the founder of the branch of Brunswick Lunenburg and Zell and brother of Henry, the founder of that of Brunswick Wolfembüttel.—Born 1622—was married to a daughter of the duke of Holstein Glucksburg, but had no child.—He died 1665.

George William, duke of Brunswick Lunenburg and Zell, second son of duke George, was born 1624.—His father gave him the principality of Calenberg only, which his uncle received on the extinction of the original line of Wolfembüttel in 1634. But on the death of his elder brother, Christian Lewis, he succeeded to the duchy of Brunswick Zell, &c. and the counties of Hoya and Diepoltz.—In 1675 he commanded an army sent to attack Treves in order to relieve Montecuculi, who was opposed to Turenne and d'Asfeldt near Strasburg; and effected his purpose by a decisive victory over Crequi at Consarbrick, which was followed by the reduction

reduction of that fortress.—He married Eleanor Desmiers, daughter of Alexander, *signeur d'Olbeause* in Poitou, by whom he had Sophia Dorothea, married first to Augustus Frederic, duke of Brunswick Wolfembuttel, and, after his death, to George Lewis, duke of Brunswick Hanover and king of Great Britain.—He died 1705, aged eighty-one years.

John Frederic, duke of Hanover, third son of George duke of Brunswick, was born 1625.—On the death of his eldest brother, Christian Lewis, he had a contest with George William respecting the partition of his dominions; which was adjusted by a convention that gave to John Frederic the principality of Calenberg and Grubenhagen.—He married a princess of the Palatine family, by whom he had several daughters. But having no son, his domains, being a male inheritance, at his death in 1679, passed to his brother Ernest Augustus.

Ernest Augustus, youngest son of George duke of Brunswick, was born 1629.—He became bishop of Osnaburg 1662; and succeeded his brother John Frederic duke of Hanover in 1679.—This prince took an active part in the war with France 1672, and commanded under his brother in the campaign of 1675.—He supplied the emperor with a body of troops, commanded by his sons, to aid him in his war with the Turks and revolted Hungarians. In return for these services and to secure his friendship in future, Leopold created a ninth electorate in his favour by the title of elector of Hanover.—His brother George William, having no son, and his only daughter being married to the son of Ernest Augustus, settled his whole dominions upon him and his posterity for the support of the electoral dignity.—He married, 1658, Sophia, daughter of Frederic the Fifth elector Palatine and Elizabeth, daughter of James the First of England, by whom he had George Lewis, his successor—Frederic Augustus, major-general in the imperial army, slain 1691—Maximilian, who served as a general in the Venetian army—Charles Philip, who died a prisoner in the hands of the Turks of the wounds he received at the battle of Kazanac, 1690—Christian, drowned in the Danube after the defeat of Munderkien, 1703—Ernest Augustus, bishop of Osnaburg and duke of York—and Sophia, married to Frederic, elector of Brandenburg and king of Prussia.—The elector died 1698, and the electress June eight, 1714.

HOUSE

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK ON THE THRONE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

GEORGE THE FIRST, king of Great Britain, &c. duke of Lunenburg and Zell, and elector of Hanover, son of the preceding, was born 1660, and succeeded his father in his electoral dignity in 1698. And by virtue of an act of the British legislature, by which the crown was settled on his mother, the princess Sophia, and her heirs, being protestants, in default of heirs to queen Anne, he was called to the succession of that kingdom on her death, august 1714.—He married, 1682, Sophia Dorothea, daughter of his uncle George William, duke of Lunenburg and Zell, by whom he had George Augustus, his successor.—William Ernest, who died an infant; and Sophia Dorothea, married to Frederic the Second, king of Prussia.—He died june 1727.

George the Second, king of Great Britain, &c. son of the preceding, was born 1683.—He married, 1705, Caroline, daughter of John Frederic, margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, by whom (who died 1737) he had Frederic Lewis prince of Wales—Anne, born 1709, married 1733 to William prince of Orange—Amelia, born 1711, died unmarried 1786—Caroline Elizabeth, born 1713, died unmarried 1757—Two sons who died infants—William, duke of Cumberland, born 1721, died 1765—Mary, born 1723, married 1740, to Frederic, landgrave of Hesse Cassel—Louisa, born 1724, married 1743 to Frederic the Fifth of Denmark.

Frederic Lewis prince of Wales, son of George the Second and Caroline Wilhelmina Dorothea, daughter of the margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, was born january 1707—married, april 1736, Augusta, daughter of Frederic duke of Saxe Gotha, by whom (who died 1772) he had Augusta, born 1737, married 1764 to Charles William Frederic, duke of Brunswick Wolfembüttel—George William Frederic, prince of Wales, afterwards king of Great Britain, born june 1738—Elizabeth Caroline, born 1740, died unmarried 1759—Edward Augustus duke of York, born 1741, died unmarried 1767—William Henry duke of Gloucester, born 1743—Henry Frederic duke of Cumberland, born 1745—Frederic William, born 1750, died 1765—Caroline

--Caroline Matilda, born 1751, married 1766 Christian the Seventh of Denmark, died 1775.

George the Third, king of Great Britain, &c. son of the preceding, was born June 1738; and in 1751 succeeded his father in his hereditary titles and was created prince of Wales.--On the death of his grandfather, October twenty-five, 1760, he succeeded to the crown of Great Britain, &c.--September eight, 1761, he married Sophia Charlotte, princess of Mecklenburg Strelitz, sister of the present duke; by whom he has George Augustus Frederic, prince of Wales, electoral prince of Brunswick, duke of Cornwall, &c. born August 1762--Frederic, duke of York and Albany, earl of Ulster and Bishop of Osnaburg, born August 1763--William Henry, duke of Clarence and earl of Munster, captain in the navy, born August 1765--Charlotte-Augusta Matilda, princess royal of England, born September 1766, married in 1797 to the duke of Wirtemberg--Prince Edward, November 1767--Princess Sophia Augusta, November 1768--Princess Elizabeth, May 1770--Prince Ernest Augustus, June 1771--Prince Augustus-Frederic, January 1773--Prince Adolphus Frederic, February 1774--Princess Mary, April 1776--Princess Sophia, November 1777--Prince Octavius, February 1779; *died* 1783--Prince Alfred, September 1780; *died* 1782--Princess Amelia, born August 1783.

His royal highness the prince of Wales was married in 1795 to the princess Caroline of Brunswick Wolfembüttel, by whom he has a princess born the ensuing year.

Prince Frederic duke of York and Albany in Great Britain, and earl of Ulster in Ireland, and bishop of Osnaburg, was born 1763--married September 1791, the princess Frederica-Charlotte, daughter of Frederic William the Second king of Prussia.

William Augustus, duke of Cumberland, third son of George the Second, was born 1721--was created duke of Cumberland in 1726, and a knight of the garter in 1730.--He died unmarried 1765.

William Henry, duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh in Great Britain, and earl of Connaught in Ireland, was born November 1743--married 1766 Maria, countess dowager of Waldegrave, daughter of the honourable sir Edward Walpole, by whom he had Sophia Matilda, born 1773--Caroline Augusta Maria, born, 1774; died 1775--William Frederic, born 1776.

Henry

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK WOLFEMBUTTEL.

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Henry Frederic, duke of Cumberland and Strathern in Great Britain, and earl of Dublin in Ireland, was born 1745—married 1771 Anne, widow of Christopher Horton, Esq. and daughter of S. Lutterel, earl of Carhampton and baron Irnham.—He died without heirs september 1790.

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK WOLFEMBUTTEL.

DESCENT.

THE *first* house of Brunswick Wolfembuttel originated in Henry, son of Magnus duke of Brunswick and younger brother of Bernard, founder of that of Lunenburg; and expired in Frederic Ulrick 1634.—The *second* was founded by Henry, son of Ernest duke of Brunswick Lunenburg and elder brother of William, founder of the house of Lunenburg Zell and Hanover.—Not intending to marry (according to Moreri) he ceded the duchy of Lunenburg to his brother, reserving only the county of Danneburg. He, however, afterwards married Ursula, princess of Saxe Lawenburg; and had by her his successor Augustus, who succeeded to the title and domain of Wolfembuttel on the extinction of the original line in Frederic Ulrick, as above.—Rodolph Augustus, the eldest son of Augustus, died without male heirs—his second, Anthony Ulrick, succeeded his brother, in 1704, and married Elizabeth, daughter of the duke of Holstein Norburg; by whom he had, beside other children, Augustus William, his successor, and Lewis Rodolph, who founded the branch of Brankenburg; neither of whom had male heirs.—The third son of Augustus, Ferdinand Albert, founded the branch of Brunswick Bevern, and was the father of Ferdinand Albert, who succeeded to the duchy on failure of heirs in the direct line in 1735.—He married Antoinette Amelia of Brunswick Brankenburg, by whom he had Charles, his successor—Elizabeth, married to Frederic the Third of Prussia—Louisa Amelia, married to prince William of Prussia, grandfather of the present king—Juliana, married to Frederic the Fifth of Denmark—Sophia, married to the duke of Saxe Saalfeld—Anthony Ulrick, who married Anne
of

of Mecklenburg^c—and prince Ferdinand, who was born 1721; who took the command of the allied army in 1758, and by his good conduct opposed the superior armies of France with great success during five campaigns, and was esteemed one of the most accomplished generals of his age—he died 1792.—Charles duke of Brunswick Wolfembüttel, was born 1713, married Philippina Charlotte, daughter of Frederic William the Second king of Prussia 1731, by whom he had Charles, his successor and several other children.—He died 1780.—The present duke of Brunswick was born 1735.—He signalized himself by his brilliant actions as a partisan in the war of 1756.—In 1764 he married the princess Augusta, eldest sister of George the Third of Great Britain, by whom he has several children.—See prince of Wales.

HOUSE OF HESSE CASSEL.

THE landgraves of Hesse Cassel form the eldest branch of the family of Hesse, which is one of the most ancient in Germany; being descended from the counts of Hesse, who bore that title in the tenth century.—In the thirteenth century Henry duke of Brabant marrying Sophia, heiress of the house of Hesse, his son by her became heir of the landgraviate.—From him descended Philip the *Magnanimous*, who signalized himself as an associate in the league of Smalcalde, in support of the protestant cause. He married a princess of the house of Saxony, and was father of William, who continued the line of Hesse Cassel, and George, in whom originated the branch of Hesse Darmstadt; a gallant prince, who fell at the siege of Barcelona, in 1705.

From William was descended the landgrave Charles, who had, by Amelia daughter of the duke of Courland, Frederic landgrave of Hesse, who had, for his second landgravine, Ulrica sister of Charles the Twelfth, an alliance which led to his elevation to the throne of Sweden.—On his decease, in 1751, without heirs, he was succeeded in the landgraviate by his brother,
prince

^c See Romanow.

prince William; whose son, the late landgrave Frederic, succeeded him in 1760.—He had by the princess Mary, daughter of George the Second of England, William, the present landgrave, by whom he was succeeded in 1785.—This prince was born in 1743; and in 1764 married Wilhelmina of Denmark by whom he has several children.

HOUSE OF HOLSTEIN ON THE THRONE OF DENMARK.

THE present royal family of Denmark are descended from Christian the First; who was elected king of Denmark on the extinction of the ancient race of her kings in 1448.—He was the son of Theodoric count of Oldenburg, who married, first, Adelaide, heiress of Delmenhorst; and afterwards Hedwige, heiress of the house of Holstein.—According to baron Holberg and Busching, on the death of her brother Adolphus, duke of Sleswick and count of Holstein, 1459, the states of the duchy and county elected Christian their sovereign.—And in 1474 Holstein, Stormar and Ditmarsh were erected into a duchy by the emperor Frederic the Third.—From Frederic the First, son of Christian the First, and brother and successor of Christian the Second, who was deposed for his tyranny, sprang the branch of Holstein Gottorp. And from Christian the Third, son of Frederic, originated the branch of Sunderburg, from which sprang the branches of Holstein—Augustburg—Beck—Wisemburg—Glucksburg—Ploen, and Norburg.

FREDERIC THE SECOND—CHRISTIAN THE FOURTH—FREDERIC THE THIRD—CHRISTIAN THE FIFTH—FREDERIC THE FOURTH—and CHRISTIAN THE SIXTH, came to the throne of Denmark in lineal succession.—The last of these dying in 1746, was succeeded by his son, Frederic the Fifth, who married first the princess Louisa, daughter of George the Second of England, by whom he had his heir; and three daughters, married to the late king of Sweden, the landgrave of Hesse, and prince Charles of Hesse.—By his second queen, Juliana of Brunswick Wolfembüttel, he had one son, prince Frederic.

Christian the Seventh, who succeeded to the throne in 1766, married, the same year, the princess Caroline Matilda, sister of his Britannic majesty, George the Third, by whom he has Frederic, prince royal, born 1768, and Louisa born 1771.

BRANCH OF HOLSTEIN GOTTORP.

THIS branch of the house of Holstein, which has given sovereigns to Russia and Sweden, took place in the person of Adolphus, a younger son of Frederic the First of Denmark, who was born in 1526.—From Adolphus was descended Frederic the Second, duke of Holstein, born in 1671.—He succeeded his father in 1695. He accepted a commission under Charles the Twelfth on his expedition against Augustus king of Poland; and was slain in an action near Cracow 1702.—He married Hedwige Sophia, daughter of Charles the Eleventh king of Sweden, by whom he had Charles Frederic his successor—and Sophia Amelia.

Charles Frederic, duke of Holstein, was born 1700.—Succeeded his father 1702; and died 1739.—He married Anne, daughter of Peter the Great and the empress Catharine, 1725; by whom he had an only child, Charles Peter Ulrick, whom the Swedish states intended to have called to the succession of that crown, as the lineal descendant of Charles the Eleventh; but he was at the same time (1742) declared heir to the imperial crown of Russia, by the empress Elizabeth, his aunt.

BRANCH OF HOLSTEIN GOTTORP ON THE THRONE OF SWEDEN.

ADOLPHUS Frederic was the son of Christian Augustus and grandson of Christian Albert by Frederica, daughter of Frederic the Third of Denmark.—Christian Augustus was bishop of Lubec; and, on the death of his brother Frederic the Second, was administrator of the states of Holstein, during the long minority of his nephew, Charles Frederic.—He married
Albertina,

Albertina, daughter of the marquis of Baden Dourlach, by whom he had Adolphus Frederic and several other children.—Frederic king of Sweden, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, having no child by his queen Ulrica Eleanora, the states would have nominated Charles Peter Ulrick duke of Holstein, grandson of her elder sister,^d to the succession. But that prince was declared heir to the crown of Russia. On which the states nominated Adolphus Frederic, his father's second cousin. By virtue of which he succeeded Frederic in 1751.—He married 1744 Louisa Ulrica, daughter of Frederic the second of Prussia, by whom he had Gustavus his successor —Charles duke of Sudermania, born 1748—Frederic Adolphus, born 1750 —Sophia Albertina, born 1753.

GUSTAVUS THE THIRD was born in 1746, and succeeded his father in 1771. He married in 1766 Sophia Magdalen, daughter of Frederic the Fifth of Denmark, by whom he had Gustavus Adolphus, his heir, born 1778 and another son born 1782.—Gustavus being assassinated in 1792, was succeeded by his present majesty, who married in 1797 the princess Frederica of Baden, by whom he has two sons and a daughter.

HOUSE OF LORRAIN.

THE family of Lorrain, according to Busching, is descended from Gerard d'Alsace, to whom the emperor Henry the Third granted it in 1048.—From him descended John duke of Lorrain, who had by Mary de Blois two sons; Charles, his successor, whose heiress, Isabella married René d'Anjou king of Naples—and Ferry, founder of the branch of Vaudemont, whose grandson, Ferry the Second, married Jolantha, daughter of the above René and Isabella, whose son René the Second, succeeded to the government.—René the Second was the father of Anthony the Second, in whom was continued the house of Lorrain.—Claud, who was created duke of Guise; from whom descended the branches of Mayenne, Aumale and Elbeuf—Charles the celebrated cardinal of Lorrain—and Mary, who was married to James

^d See Frederic the Second of Holstein Gottorp.

^e In his time Bar was added by will of the last duke.

James the Fifth of Scotland.—Anthony the Second, duke of Lorraine, married Renée de Bourbon, Dame de Merceur, and had by her Francis his successor, and Nicholas, who was the founder of the branch of Merceur, he being created a duke by that title by his son-in-law Henry the Third of France.—From the line of Merceur descended that of Moy—and from that of Elbeuf descended those of Harcourt, Lillebonne, Armagnac and Marsan.

From prince Nicholas of Lorraine, brother of duke Charles, was descended Charles Leopold, born 1648, distinguished by the part which he bore in the war with Lewis the Fourteenth and his subsequent misfortunes.—He had by Eleanora, widow of Michael king of Poland, Leopold Joseph, who succeeded him in 1690.—This prince was restored to the dominions of which his father had been stripped. He married Elizabeth daughter of Philip duke of Orleans, by whom he had his successor, Francis Stephen, who received the duchy of Tuscany in exchange for that of Lorraine and Bar, by a treaty between France and Austria in 1737.—This prince, who was born in 1708, was married in 1736 to Maria Theresa, afterwards empress queen, whose descendants may be seen in the genealogy of Austria.

HOUSE OF ORANGE.

THE house of Nassau is descended from Otho count of Nassau, who was a general in the army of Henry the Fowler in the tenth century.—From him was descended Henry the Second of Nassau, who died 1254 leaving two sons; Walrame, in whom the original family was continued, and from which that of Wisbaden and Weilburg afterwards branched; and Otho, who formed the branch of Nassau Dillemburg.—From Otho, count of Nassau Dillemburg was descended William, who died 1559 leaving also two sons; William who formed the branch of Orange, which expired in William the Third of Great Britain; and John who continued the branch of Dillemburg.—John, count of Nassau Dillemburg, dying 1606 left four sons; John, who formed the branch of Nassau Seigen, George, who continued that of Dillemburg,

Dillemburg, Ernest Casimir, who formed that of Dietz, and John Lewis, who formed that of Hadamar.

From William, the founder of the branch of Orange, descended a series of princes celebrated as the defenders of the liberties and independency of their country against the tyranny of the house of Austria, and Lewis the Fourteenth's immoderate thirst of dominion. These were WILLIAM of Nassau Orange—PHILIP WILLIAM—MAURICE, HENRY FREDERIC—and WILLIAM.—The last of these princes married Mary daughter of Charles the First of England, by whom he had his heir William Henry, who succeeded him in his charges in 1650.—This prince, married the princess Mary, eldest daughter of James the Second of England, and was raised to the throne of that kingdom in 1699.

William, having no child, was succeeded in his dominions in 1702 by his cousin, John W. Friso of Nassau Dietz.—He had, by Louisa of Hesse Cassel, Charles H. Friso, who succeeded him in 1711.—Charles married the princess Anne, daughter of George the Second, by whom he had William, prince of Orange, born 1748, who succeeded him 1751.—He married in 1767 Frederica, sister of Frederic William the Second, king of Prussia, by whom he has Frederic William, the hereditary prince, born 1772—William, born 1774—and Frederica, born 1770.

FAMILY OF ROMANOW ON THE THRONE OF RUSSIA.

THE aborigines of Moscovy, according to Muller, were called Tshudi; which he supposes to have been the same with the Finns, Carelians and Estlanders. But, during the middle ages, settlements were formed on the south by the Sclavonians, and on the north by the Scandinavians, who called themselves Waragers.—About the middle of the ninth century three of the Scandinavian leaders were chosen chieftains; two of whom died without issue; and from the third, Ruric, descended the dukes of Russia of the first race, which terminated in Theodore the Second who died in 1598 without heirs.—The disputed right of succession rendered the country a scene of anarchy and bloodshed till 1613; when a powerful party of the nobles

nobles raised Michael Theodorowitz Romanow, a youth of seventeen years of age, related by the mother to the family of Ruric, to the throne.—Michael was succeeded in 1645 by his son Alexis; who died in 1676, leaving by his first czarina, two sons; Theodore and John; and a daughter, Sophia; and by his second, the czar Peter, and a daughter, Catharine.—His successor, Theodore, died in 1682 without children, and named his half-brother to the succession in preference to his own brother, on account of the incapacity of the latter.

John, son of czar Alexis and Mary, daughter of Daniel Milolauski, was declared joint sovereign with czar Peter 1682.—He married Prěscovia, daughter of Theodore Soltikoff: by whom he had Catharine, married to Charles Leopold, duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin; and Anne, married to the duke of Courland, who was raised to the throne of Russia on the death of Peter the Second in 1730.—He died in 1696.

CZAR PETER THE FIRST, son of Alexis by Natalia daughter of Cariloff Nariskin, was born in 1672.—When ten years old he was declared joint sovereign, as above related.—At an early age he was married to Eudoxia Lapuchin, by whom he had the czarowitz, Alexis, and was divorced in 1696.—In 1712 he was married to a young woman of low extraction of the name of Alfendeyl, by whom he had two sons who died before him, and three daughters, Anne married to the duke of Holstein Gottorp, Elizabeth, who was raised to the throne, and Natalia, who died immediately after him.—Peter dying in 1725 named his empress Catharine successor.—That honour Catharine enjoyed only two years.

Alexis, the czar's only son by Eudoxia Lapuchin, a prince of an unhappy and perverse temper, was arraigned for state offences, and received the sentence of death, in 1718, and died the ensuing day in prison.—He had by his princess, Charlotte of Brunswick Wolfembüttel Brankenburg, a son, born 1715, who succeeded to the throne on the death of the empress Catharine in 1727, by the name of PETER THE SECOND.

Peter dying unmarried in 1730, it was supposed that he would have been succeeded either by Anne, czar Peter's eldest daughter, married to the duke of Holstein, or by Catharine, eldest daughter of czar John, married to the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin. But the Russians were induced by political motives to raise Anne, younger sister of the latter, married in 1710

to

to the duke of Courland, to the throne.——On the death of Anne in 1740, Iwan, the infant son of Anthony Ulrick duke of Brunswick Wolfenbützel by Anne daughter of the duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin and granddaughter of czar John, was raised to the throne.——Having held it only thirteen months, he was deposed, and confined for life, to make room for the empress Elizabeth, second daughter of Peter the Great.——On Elizabeth's death in 1762, PETER THE THIRD, son of the duke of Holstein by that empress's eldest sister, succeeded her agreeably to a previous settlement of the crown.——The result may be seen by referring to the Russian history.——He had, by Catharine of Anhalt Zerbst, a son, Paul Petrowitz, born 1754, who succeeded the empress Catharine in 1796.——He married in 1778 Wilhelmina daughter of the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, by whom he had no issue. That princess dying in 1776, he married, the same year, the princess Sophia of Wirtemberg Stutgard, by whom he had his heir and several other children.——On the death of Paul in 1801, his son succeeded him by the name of ALEXANDER. This monarch was born in 1777, and married in 1793 the princess Louisa of Baden, daughter of the hereditary prince.

FAMILY OF SAVOY.—KINGS OF SARDINIA.

THE house of Savoy, according to Moreri, has its descent from Berthold, a descendant from Witikind duke of Saxony; who commanding the army of Rodolph king of Burgundy and rendering him signal services, was rewarded by him with the grant of the counties of Savoy and Marianne in the year 1000; to which were added Piedmont and other territories.—The original line became extinct by the death of count Philip without heirs in 1285.—The second line, which sprung from Thomas the eighth count, expired in Lewis of Savoy, prince of Achaia and the Morea and count of Piedmont, in 1418.—He was succeeded by Amadeus the eighth duke of Chablais, lord of Bresse, &c. who was created duke of Savoy by the emperor Sigismund; from whom was lineally descended duke Charles Emanuel; who married Catharine, eldest daughter of Philip the Second of Spain,

Spain, and was the grandfather of Charles Emanuel, father of Victor Amadeus.

Victor Amadeus, first king of Sardinia, was son of Charles Emanuel duke of Savoy and Frances daughter of Gaston duke of Orleans.—He was born 1666; and at the age of eleven years succeeded his father in the duchy.—He married, first, in 1684, Anne Mary, daughter of Philip duke of Orleans and Henrietta of England, by whom he had Charles Emanuel his heir: Mary Adelaide, married to the duke of Burgundy: and Mary Gabriella, married to Philip the Fifth of Spain.—After the death of this queen, he was privately married to the countess of Saint Sebastian, by whom he had no child.—He resigned the crown in 1730 and died two years after.

CHARLES EMANUEL who received the crown by resignation in 1730, had been married in 1722 to Anne of Bavaria Sultzbach, by whom he had one son who died young. On her death, he married, in 1724, Polyxena of Hesse Rhinfelds, by whom he had his successor and other children. On her death in 1734 he married Elizabeth of Lorraine, sister of the emperor Francis Stephen, by whom he had Benedict, duke of Chablais.

VICTOR AMADEUS THE SECOND, who succeeded his father in 1773, at the age of forty-seven years, had married, in 1750, Mary Antoinette, daughter of Philip the Fifth of Spain; by whom he has Charles Emanuel prince of Piedmont; Victor; Maurice; Charles; Joseph; Maria Josepha married to the count of Provence, and Maria Theresa to count d'Artois.—The prince of Piedmont is married to Mary Adelaide, sister of Lewis the Sixteenth.

From this stem of the house of Savoy there are two branches: one is that of Carignan, originating in a younger son of the duke Charles Emanuel. The other is that of Soissons, originating in the second son of the preceding. The latter was chiefly celebrated for having produced prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough's rival in fame. He was the son of Eugene Maurice of Savoy, count of Soissons, by Olympia Mancini, niece of cardinal Mazarine: was born in 1663 and died in 1736.

HOUSE

HOUSES OF SAXONY.

DESCENT.

THE two original lines of the Saxon house, viz. the electoral and that of Saxe Lawenburg, and also the different branches of the house of Anhalt, were collaterally descended from Albert the Bear, count of Ascania. Bernard, son of Albert, was created elector of Saxony on the expulsion of Henry the Lion, of the house of Guelph, in 1180.^f Bernard dying, 1212, left two sons; Henry the founder of the house of Anhalt, and Albert who continued the electoral line; and whose second son, John, founded the house of Saxe Lawenburg.—The original electoral line becoming extinct in 1422, the emperor Sigismund granted it to Frederic the Warlike, marquis of Misnia, whom Moreri supposes to have been of the same race, but who was not of the same line.—His heir, Frederic the Second, had two sons. Ernest, the elder, founded the Ernestine, and his second, Albert, the Albertine branch.—In 1547, John Frederic was deprived of the electorate by the emperor Charles the Fifth, for the support he gave the protestant cause in Germany, and his cousin, Maurice, was invested with it: and from that time it has remained in the Albertine branch.—From John William, grandson, of John Frederic, sprung the duke of Saxe Weimar; from whom originated the dukes of Eisenach and Gotha:—and from the last of these the six families of Cobourg, Meiningen, Romhild, Eisenberg, Hildeburg, and Saalfeld have their descent.———The line of Saxe Lawenburg became extinct by the death of duke Julius Francis without male heirs 1689.———From the above Henry, duke of Anhalt, are descended the houses of Anhalt Dessau, Bernburg, and Zerbst.———The duchy of Saxe Teschen was created in favour of prince Albert of Saxony, son of the late king of Poland, who married the archduchess, Maria Christina Josepha, daughter of the emperor Francis Stephen.^g

FREDERIC AUGUSTUS, son of John George elector of Saxony of the Albertine line, was born in 1670; and succeeded his elder brother John George in 1694.—He was a prince of talents, and was endowed with vast bodily strength.

^f See Brunswick.

^g See Germany. 1781.

strength. His history is distinguished by his reverses of fortune during the war between Peter the Great and Charles the Twelfth. He married, in 1693, Christina of Brandenburg Bareuth, by whom he had his successor.

—AUGUSTUS THE SECOND was born in 1696. He succeeded his father in the electoral dignity and was elected to the crown of Poland, in 1733.

—In 1716 he married the archduchess Josephina, daughter of the emperor Joseph the First.—We have seen, in the German history, the distress in which he was involved in consequence of his engaging in the war with the king of Prussia in 1756.—He had by his electress queen, who died in 1757, Frederic, his heir, Xavier, Charles, Albert, Clement, Amelia, married to Charles the Third of Spain, M. Anne, married to the elector of Bavaria, and Josepha, married to the dauphin Lewis.—He died in 1763. See *German history*.

Frederic, eldest son of Augustus, having died a short time before his father, Frederic Augustus, son of that prince by Maria Antoinette of Bavaria, succeeded his grandfather. He was born in 1750, and in 1769 married M. Amelia of Deux Ponts, sister of the present duke.

The celebrated marshal Saxe was a natural son of Augustus the First by M. Aurora countess of Koningsmark.

HOUSE OF STUART ON THE THRONES OF SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.

DESCENT.

THIS family derives its descent from Walter Stuart, lord of Dondonald and Senechal of Scotland, who died 1258.—His descendant, Walter Stuart, married Mary, daughter of Robert Bruce, king of Scotland; by whom he had a son, Robert, who, according to Buchanan, “ was, in a full assembly “ of the estates, by a general suffrage named heir presumptive of the “ crown.” This was done at the desire of his uncle, David Bruce, whom he succeeded in the throne in 1370.—From him was descended James the Second, whose second son founded the branch of Albany. His eldest, James the Third, was father of James the Fourth, who by his marriage with Margaret

Margaret daughter of Henry the Seventh of England, gave his descendant James the Sixth a presumptive right to the succession of that crown, which he afterwards enjoyed.—His son James the Fifth, had by his second wife, Mary of Lorrain, daughter of Claud duke of Guise^b and widow of Lewis duke of Longueville, an only surviving daughter, Mary, who succeeded him 1542. This unfortunate princess married 1558 Francis the Second of France; who died 1560. She afterwards married Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, son of the earl of Lenox, by whom she had an only son James the Sixth, who succeeded her on the throne of Scotland on her execution in 1587; and to that of England on the death of queen Elizabeth in 1603 by the title of James the First. He was born 1566—married 1590 Anne, daughter of Frederic the Second of Denmark, by whom he had Henry, born 1594, died 1612—Elizabeth, born 1596, married 1613 to Frederic the Fifth elector Palatine—Charles, his successor—and Robert; Margaret; Mary; and Sophia, who died infants.—Charles the First was born 1600—was created prince of Wales 1616—succeeded his father 1625, and the same year married Henrietta, daughter of Henry the Fourth of France; by whom he had Charles his successor—Mary, born 1631; married 1641 to William the Second prince of Orange—James who succeeded his brother—Elizabeth, born 1635, who died a prisoner in Carisbrook castle 1650, a victim to her father's cruel fate.—Henry duke of Gloucester, born 1640; died 1660—Henrietta Maria, born 1644; married 1661 to Philip duke of Orleans, to whom she bore two daughters, Mary Louisa and Anne, married to Charles the Second of Spain and Victor Amadeus of Savoy.—Charles the First was executed january 30, 1649.

CHARLES THE SECOND was born in 1630, and was restored to the English throne in 1660.—He married, in 1662, Catharine, daughter of John the Fourth of Portugal, by whom he had no child.—His natural children were James duke of Monmouth by Mrs. Walters.—A daughter married to James Howard, grandson of the earl of Suffolk, by the viscountess Shannon.—Charles Fitzroy by Barbara Villiers, created duchess of Cleveland. By the same lady he had Henry duke of Grafton: George duke of Northumberland, and Charlotte married to the earl of Litchfield.—Charles Beauclerk duke of St. Albans by Mrs. Eleanor Gwyn.—Charles Lenox duke of

^b See Lorrain.

of Richmond by Louisa de Querouaille.—And a daughter, married to lord Radcliffe, by Mrs. Davis.

JAMES THE SECOND was born in 1633, and succeeded his brother in 1685.—He married first, in 1660, Anne daughter of Edward earl of Clarendon, by whom he had the two princesses Mary and Anne, the chevalier James; and other children who died young.—His queen dying in 1671, he married in 1673 M. Beatrix d'Este, daughter of the duke of Modena, by whom he had no child.—James was dethroned in 1688, and died in 1701.

The princess Mary was born in 1662, and was married in 1677 to William prince of Orange.—In 1689 she was declared joint sovereign with her husband. She died in 1694 without child.

The princess Anne was born in 1665; married prince George, son of Frederic the Third of Denmark, in 1683; and succeeded to the throne on the death of William the Third in 1702.—Her eldest son, William duke of Gloucester, was born in 1689 and died in 1700. She had several other children who died in their infancy.—The queen died in 1714.

James Francis Edward Stuart, known by the appellation of the Chevalier de Saint George, was born in 1688. In 1719 he married Mary Clementina, daughter of James, and grand-daughter of the celebrated John Sobieski king of Poland, who died in 1735. By her he had Charles Edward, and Henry Benedict, afterwards cardinal of York born 1725. The Chevalier died in 1766.

Charles Edward, called the *Young Chevalier*, was born in 1720. In 1772 he married a princess of the house of Stolberg, by whom he had no child.—He died in 1788.

James Fitz-James, duke of Berwick, was the natural son of James the Second by Arabella Churchill, sister of the duke of Marlborough. He was born in 1671, and was killed before Philipsburg in 1734.

Those who have leisure and inclination to advert, even cursorily, to these genealogical sketches, if they are disposed to reflect on the fortunes of the exalted personages whose lineages are here traced, cannot but remark the calamities which many of them have encountered, and the mournful exits
which

which some of them have made from the stage of life. In some of their distresses we may, indeed, be said to have participated; and every man of the present day may say, in the words of our favourite dramatic poet, who conveys the sublimest thoughts and most instructive lessons in the simple language of nature,

*Sweet are the uses of adversity,
which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
wears yet a precious jewel in his head.**

That jewel several of the European powers have obtained at a high price; and, therefore, if they are prudent, they will make the most advantageous application of it: when such lessons are taught them by past events, those sovereigns whose systems will not bear the inspection of an enlightened age, will no longer fondly cherish their prejudices, but endeavour the establishment of their governments by conforming their principles to the existing state of the public mind.

The same general maxims are applicable to all. In an age of investigation it concerns every man, of whatever rank or profession, to be prepared to vindicate his principles and maintain the ground which he stands upon by proving himself useful.—It may be observed as one of the excellencies of the English constitution, that it has provided functions and duties for men of rank, as well as those in the subordinate stations, by an attention to which they have it in their power to contribute to its stability, at the same time that they evince the utility of their order and secure the national respect and esteem. And, at such a crisis as the present, it must afford a sensible satisfaction to those who feel themselves interested in the public welfare, to observe so general a disposition to forward the ends of government by a correspondent conduct.

An idea of the necessity of complying with the spirit of the constitution in this particular seems to pervade every order of men; and it will, we may

* Johnson, in his comment on this passage, says, "that it was the current opinion in Shakspeare's time, that in the head of an old toad was to be found a stone, or a pearl, to which great virtues were ascribed."—*As You like It. Act 4. Scene 1.*

¹ *As You like It. Act 2. Scene 1.*

may presume, enter more into the system of education. Whilst a proper attention is shewn to literary attainments and elegant accomplishments, the rising generation will be impressed with a sense of the importance of their qualifying themselves in all respects for the stations which they will be called upon to fill.*

———*Ut patriæ sit idoneus, utilis agris,
utilis et bellorum, et pacis rebus agendis.**

It is to be observed, that the utility of the law is not to be measured by the number of persons who are acquainted with it, but by the number of persons who are able to apply it. The utility of the law is to be measured by the number of persons who are able to apply it.

ARTICLE

* The sentiments of Blackstone upon this subject are well deserving the attention of every young man of rank and fortune. "And first," says he, "to demonstrate the utility of some acquaintance with the laws of the land, let us only reflect a moment on the singular frame and polity of that land, which is governed by this system of laws. A land, perhaps the only one in the universe in which political or civil liberty is the very end and scope of the constitution. This liberty, rightly understood, consists in the power of doing whatever the laws permit; which is only to be effected by a general conformity of all orders and degrees to those equitable rules of action, by which the meanest individual is protected from the insults and oppression of the greatest. As therefore every subject is interested in the preservation of the laws, it is incumbent upon every man to be acquainted with those at least, with which he is immediately concerned; lest he incur the censure, as well as inconvenience, of living in society without knowing the obligations which it lays him under. And thus much may suffice for persons of inferior condition, who have neither time nor capacity to enlarge their views beyond that contracted sphere in which they are appointed to move. But those, on whom nature and fortune have bestowed more abilities and greater leisure, cannot be so easily excused. These advantages are given them, not for the benefit of themselves only, but also of the public; and they cannot, in any scene of life, discharge properly their duty either to the public or themselves, without some degree of knowledge in the laws."—After adverting to other capacities in which men of rank and fortune are called upon to act, he earnestly admonishes them to qualify themselves, by previous study, for the most important capacity of legislators, or guardians of the English constitution, of makers, repealers, and interpreters of the English laws.—*Blackstone's Commentaries*. 1. 6. and 9.

* *Juvenal, Sat. 14. 65.*

ARTICLE III.

COINS, PRICES. &c.

*with the State of Agriculture, Commerce, and Manners
in different Ages.*

THOUGH the following account of the several instruments of exchange which have been employed in different ages, and of the price of labour and of different articles of subsistence in different periods, be not particularly connected with the history of this period, yet as it shews the progress of society, and as the facts here adverted to may lead the reader to reflect on some subjects of importance to the community, it will not, the writer thinks, be deemed uninteresting or improperly introduced.

It is the general opinion that commerce in the earliest ages consisted only in what is more particularly called barter; or the exchange which a person makes of an article in which he abounds for one which he stands in need of.—The first expedient to facilitate commerce appears to have been the choosing, by a kind of general consent, some one or more articles which might serve as an instrument of exchange. One of the first of these Mr. Smith supposes to have been cattle; which were probably chosen as being of general use and easily transferred. In proof of this he cites a passage from Homer; where the armour of Diomedes is said to have cost *nine oxen*, and that of Glaucus *an hundred*.—Different kinds of metal were afterwards made use of as the instruments of trade. And these were preferred, we may suppose, on account of their durable, divisible, and portable nature. But even here an inconvenience was felt, as trade advanced, from the necessity and trouble of weighing it. In order there-
fore

* Wealth of Nations. 1. 33.

fore to remove this embarrassment, another step was taken in this branch of the commercial system by giving to pieces of metal of a certain weight a stamp and correspondent denomination. But though the use of these was adopted in Great Britain long before the conquest, yet large sums continued to be paid by weight after that era, as appears from Speed and other writers.—And here it is to be observed that there have been various denominations used in accounts, which either never were coins or have long since ceased to be such. Of this number is the English pound sterling. When therefore we say that such a denomination contains so many shillings or pence, it is only meant that it answers to so much in accounts.

The last step taken in the system of exchange was the substituting bills of exchange for money.—These are said by Mr. Rymer to have been introduced as early as the year 1307; and to have been used for the purpose of making remittances of revenue to the pope, in consequence of an injunction of Edward the First, “That neither the English coin, nor silver “in mass, nor in bullion, shall be carried out of the kingdom to the pope; “but that the sums so raised shall be delivered to merchants in England, “to be remitted to the pope by way of exchange”—*per viam cambii*. This, says Mr. Anderson, who gives this account in his History of Commerce, could mean nothing else than bills of exchange.^b

Paper currency in various forms has since been adopted, as commerce extended, with a view of increasing the circulation and facilitating remittances: and thus the system of exchange has been gradually completed by the introduction of various instruments of exchange, which, from their divisible and portable nature, answer every purpose of trade.—Whether paper currency may not be extended too far; whether what was introduced to facilitate commerce and has been necessarily extended with its enlargement, may not, in the excess, be detrimental to it; whether it has not a tendency, by depreciating the value of money, to raise the price of labour and consequently the price of our manufactures, and whether, if paper currency be not adopted or not carried to the same extent by our commercial rivals, it will not be eventually prejudicial to our foreign trade, are questions left to the determination of those who are conversant in such matters.—Having recommended this subject to their consideration, the
writer

^b Anderson, 1. 274.

writer will now proceed to give an account of the coins and denominations taken notice of in bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon pretiosum*.

ENGLISH COINS.

Mr. Camden says that the most ancient English coin that he had known was that of Ethelbert king of Kent, in whose time all money-accounts began to pass in pounds, shillings, pence, and mancuses, or marks.—(*Gold coins*.) Gold was not coined in any considerable quantity in England till the reign of Edward the Third. That monarch coined the *florin* of 6s.; and the *noble* of 6s. 8d. which, in the fifth of Edward the Fourth, was a coin of 10s. and in the twenty-sixth of Elizabeth 15s.—Henry the Sixth coined *angels* of 6s. 8d.; which in the first of Henry the Eighth were of 7s. 6d; in the thirty-fourth they were of 8s; and in the sixth of Edward the Sixth they were 10s. There were likewise *half-angels*.—Henry the Sixth coined *rials* or *royals* of 10s; which in the first of Henry the Eighth were 11s. 3d; and in the second of Elizabeth 15s.—James the First coined *rose-rials* of 1l. 10s; and *spur-rials* of 15s.—Henry the Eighth coined *crowns of the double-rose* of 5s. *Sovereigns* of 1l. 11s. 6d. He afterwards made them of 1l. Edward the Sixth made them of 1l. 4s; and afterwards of 1l. 10s. Henry the Eighth coined pieces of *forty pence*.—James the First coined *Britain crowns* of 5s; and afterwards of 5s. 6d: *double-crowns* of 10s. and 11s: *thistle-crowns* of 4s; and 4s. 4d. He likewise coined *unites* of 1l; and afterwards of 1l. 11s.— — — — —
(*Silver coins*.) A penny is the first coined piece of silver which we have any account of; and was, for some ages, the only one. It was the fifth part of a Saxon shilling, of which there were forty-eight in a pound.* After the conquest it made a twelfth part of the Anglo-Norman shilling, of which there were twenty in a pound.—A *pound* is not a coin, but a denomination which in accounts answers to twenty shillings, and was originally of the value of a pound of silver. The pound of silver was afterwards, from time to time, coined into a greater number of shillings; till it came, in the forty-third of Elizabeth, to the present number of sixty-two.—A shilling was used as a denomination only till 1504, when it was first coined.—A *mark*, or mancuse, is supposed to have been a coin among the Saxons
of

* In some instances sixty.

of the value of 6s. It afterwards became a denomination of 13s. 4d.—*An angel* of silver is a denomination of 10s.—*A noble* is a denomination of 6s. 8d.—The silver *crown* was first coined by Edward the Sixth.—*Groats* were equal to 4d.—The *tester* is said by Spelman to have been originally a French coin of the value of 1s. 6d. In Edward the Sixth's time it passed in England for 9d: and lastly for 6d.—There was likewise a piece of *three pence* first coined by Elizabeth.—In order to remove the inconvenience arising from the smallness of the silver penny, and its divisions, copper money was first coined by cities and private persons, to whom a licence was granted. In 1609 it was coined by government: and in 1672 the private money was suppressed by proclamation.

One circumstance has occasioned embarrassment to dealers, and perplexity in reading authors who speak of the price of things in different ages; which is the various weight of coins of the same denomination at different periods. A pound, troy weight, of silver,^d which at the latter end of the eleventh century was coined into as many pennies as were worth twenty shillings only, was from time to time coined into a greater number, as was before represented. To remove the difficulty arising from this diminution of the shilling and penny, doctor Fleetwood has given a table to shew the number of shillings which a troy pound of twelve ounces has at different times contained, from the reign of Edward the First, who regulated the coin by a standard, to the present time, together with the portion of alloy used. The writer has availed himself of this, and also of Mr. Anderson's calculation of the number of grains of *pure* silver which the shilling has at each alteration contained, and has prefixed them to the short account here given of the price of things during the successive centuries. By this arrangement the reader, who has not an opportunity or leisure to refer to the works from which the extracts are made, is enabled to gratify his curiosity with regard to these matters without being so liable to be deceived. If, for example, he finds that an article cost one shilling in the twenty-sixth of Edward the First, or any preceding year, and three shillings in the sixth of Edward the Sixth, he will know that in fact it cost the same quantity of silver; because the shilling at the first period contained two hundred and sixty-four grains, and only eighty-eight in the last.

The reader being made acquainted with the principal English coins and denominations,

^d Twelve ounces.

denominations, it becomes an object of rational curiosity, to know what Mr. Adam Smith calls the *value in exchange of money*, or the effect of it in the purchase of labour and subsistence. The writer has, therefore, given the prices of labour and of the chief articles of subsistence at different periods; and has brought together such information respecting the manners and other circumstances of different ages as may afford a slight outline of the progress of society.

AGES PRECEDING THE CONQUEST.

Five Saxon pence were a shilling: and forty-eight shillings made a pound in weight and denomination.

(*Corn.*)—In 1043 a horse load, or quarter, of wheat was sold for the high price of 60 pence, or twelve Saxon shillings, which contained a fourth part of a pound of silver.

(*Cattle.*)—By a law of Ina king of Wessex, a ewe with her lamb till fourteen days after easter was valued at one shilling Saxon.—In the reign of king Ethelred (about the year 1000) a horse was valued at thirty shillings. An ox at thirty Saxon pence, of which there were five to a shilling.*—A sheep, according to Mr. Hume, was valued at five Saxon pence, of which the fleece was worth two. This he attributes to their wearing scarcely any other cloth but woollen.

(*Manufactures.*)—Coarse woollen cloth was at this time made in England. But the manufacture of fine cloth was brought from Flanders in the reign of Edward the Third.

(*Land and Agriculture.*)—Mr. Hume cites a passage from Gale's History of Ramsey Abbey, which says, that between the years 900 and 1000 Ednoth bought a hide of land (about a hundred and twenty acres) for a hundred shillings. This shews not only the scarcity of money but the situation of the country with respect to cultivation and produce. And we shall the more easily reconcile the fact with our ideas of the value of land, if we consider that it is at this time sold for three shillings an acre and in some instances for two in the new American settlements: where the means of improvement are greater, and the market for its produce more certain.

(*Manners*

* Fleetwood. 51.

(*Manners and the Arts.*)—Ignorance of what are now deemed the comforts of life is strongly exemplified in a passage of Camden. William de Ailesbury held certain lands of William the Conqueror, upon the tenure of finding *litter* for the king's bedchamber; and also *sweet herbs* for the same. —This usage was continued long after the conquest. And it is to this ancient English luxury of sweet herbs with clean straw, possibly, to which Shakespeare alludes, when, in the person of Henry the Fourth, he speaks of "the perfumed chambers of the great."^c

THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

The pound by denomination continues to be a pound of silver; but instead of forty-eight shillings of 5 pence, it is divided into twenty shillings of 12 pence:

(*Corn.*)—In 1125 a quarter of wheat was sold for 6s.—In 1196 a sema or quarter of wheat, according to Fleetwood, was sold for 13s. 4d. And such was the scarcity of the ensuing year that the price rose to 18s. 8d; equal in weight to fifty-six shillings of our money. And the "value of it" in exchange" was equal to five times that sum; as fifty-six shillings would then buy five times the quantity of the necessaries of life.

(*Cattle.*)—In 1184 thirty-three cows and two bulls cost 8l. 7s.—five hundred sheep 22l. 10s.—sixty-six oxen 18l. 3s.—fifteen breeding mares 2l. 12s. 6d.—twenty-two hogs 1l. 2s.—eleven heifers 2l. 14s.^a —In 1198 Hugh de Bosco, sheriff of Hants, stocked the lands of Mienes with twelve oxen at three shillings an ox; and an hundred sheep at fourpence,^b or about 1s. 1d. of our money.

(*Wine.*)—In 1199 king John ordered that a ton of Poitou wine should be sold for no more than 1l.—A tun of Anjou wine for 1l. 4s. And that no French wine should be sold for more than 1l. 5s.^c

(*Pensions.*)—Henry the Second paid pensions to his servants, worn out with age, of one penny and one penny halfpenny per day.—And Henry the Third ordered the sheriff of Essex to pay his porter two-pence a day till the king should otherwise provide for him.^d

THE

^c Part II. Act 2.

^a Anderson from Madox.

^b Idem.

^d Fleetwood. 85.

^k Anderson. 1. 163. from Madox.

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

The pound of silver continues, as before, to be divided into twenty shillings; each of which weighed about $3\frac{1}{16}$ times as much as the present.

(*Corn and Agriculture.*)—In 1270 there was so great a famine in England that, according to Fleetwood, wheat was sold for 4l. 16s. a quarter. And in 1287 so great was the plenty that it sold for 1s. 6d.—This almost incredible variation in the price is ascribed to the want of skill and industry in the farmers of this age: to which we may add their straitened incomes; which obliged them to sell the produce of each year before the ensuing harvest. This evil is removed by the prosperous circumstances of the English farmers in the eighteenth century; which enable them to reserve the superfluity of one year to supply the deficiency of another; thus, uniting their own with the general good, they effect the purpose of public granaries without the expence and inconvenience attending them.—Could the advantages of affluence and skill be obtained without the disadvantages arising from the abolition of farms of moderate extent and an unbounded accumulation of land in the hands of a few persons, could estates be so apportioned that no farm should be so small as to disable the occupier from cultivating his land to advantage, nor so large as to render him independent of an uniform attention to its cultivation and improvement, the greatest possible benefit would accrue to the community.

The average price of wheat this century was 15s. 5d.

(*Wine.*)—It appears from Blount's *Ancient Tenures of Land*, that a person held a manor of Edward the First on the tenure of annually supplying him with two vessels, called mues, of wine made of pearmaine. This enables us to account for the number of places, in different parts of the kingdom, called vineyards, without supposing that grapes were produced in all of them.—In king Stephen's household a provision was made for a *vine dresser*; which renders it probable that wine was produced in a greater or less quantity.

(*Cattle, &c.*)—In 1298 the price of an ox at Scarborough was 6s. 8d. Of a cow 5s. Of a heifer 2s. Of a sheep 1s.—In 1299 the price of various

¹ Anderson. 1. 207.

various articles was settled by the common council of London.—A capon was valued at $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. A goose at 4d. Two pullets $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. A swan 8s. A pheasant 4d. A partridge $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.*

(*Commerce.*)—The trade of England had been carried on by the Italian and Flemish merchants. But in the year 1248 privileges are said to have been granted by John duke of Brabant to the English merchants; who exchanged wool, lead, tin, &c. for fine cloth manufactured in the Netherlands.—The progress of trade must necessarily have been slow in a country where interest was at 50 per cent; and where the police was so defective that “whole villages were plundered by bands of robbers.”—In 1249 two merchants of Brabant complained to Henry the Third that they had been spoiled of all their goods by certain robbers, whom they knew, because they saw their faces every day in his court.—In 1230 the mayor of Oxford was ordered to buy five hundred ells of russet cloth, at about 10d. per ell, for the poor.—This was equal to the price of the eighteenth century, if the weight of the penny be considered.

(*Inland Communication.*)—The inconvenience arising from the want of it appears from the chronicle of Dunstable, which says that wheat was sold for five shillings a quarter at that town, when it was sold for 8 shillings at other places.—N. B. Fleetwood does not mention the place where wheat was sold at the above high price.

(*Stipends.*)—In 1229 a curate's stipend was settled by the bishop of Chester at five marks, or 5l. 6s. 8d. per ann. This appears to have been the general stipend for several centuries.

(*Labour, &c.*)—In 1225 the hire of a cart and two horses was valued at 10d. a day.—It is observable that the price of cloth, corn, and other articles produced by labour and art, was much higher in proportion at this time than that of cattle, poultry, game, &c. which were procured with little labour and attention.—This shews the unimproved state of agriculture and manufactures in this age: in the next century the price of a stall-fed ox will be seen to be less than the average price of three sacks of wheat.

THE

* Fleetwood. 65.

* Anderson. 1. 216.

* Hume: 2: 227.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

In 1345 the pound of silver was coined into 22 shillings and 6 pence, each 23.6 grains; about $2\frac{3}{4}$ of the present—in 1354 into 25 of 21.3 grains or $2\frac{1}{2}$ of our own.

(*Corn.*)—During the year 1317 wheat was sold at the various prices of 2l. 4s.; 2l. 13s.; 4l. and 6s. 8d.—In 1336 it sold for 2s. a quarter.—The average price of nineteen years was 18s.—Equal in weight to 2l. 14s. of our money.

(*Land.*)—In 1327 a capital messuage and seventy acres of land at Tunbridge were valued at 1l. 15s. per annum.—The same year, according to Fleetwood, eighty acres of arable were valued at 1l.—meadow land at 4d. per acre and pasture at 1d.

(*Cattle.*)—In 1314 the market price of various articles throughout the kingdom was settled by the legislature.—A stalled, or corn-fed ox 1l. 4s.—a grass-fed ox 16s.—an ordinary cow 10s.—a fat sheep unshorn 1s. 8d.—a fat sheep shorn 1s. 2d.—These prices, though high in proportion to the rent of land were so much below the current price that the consequence of the interference was the desertion of the markets, which occasioned the repeal of the act.^p

(*Wool.*)—Edward the Third, in order to keep up the value of wool, got the prices for the following counties settled by parliament. That of Shropshire 14 marks or 9l. 6s. 8d. per sack of three hundred and sixty-four pounds.—Oxford and Stafford 13 marks.—Leicester, Gloucester and Herefordshires 12.—The lowest was Cornwall, which was valued at only 4 marks.^q—Mr. Hume says that the medium price was 5l. a sack and that near thirty thousand sacks were exported yearly.

(*Wages.*)—In 1351 workmen were to take their wages in wheat at the rate of 10d. a bushel. For mowing, 5d. an acre. For reaping, 2d. the first week in august, and 3d. a day afterwards: without diet. For threshing a quarter of wheat $2\frac{1}{2}$ d.—In 1351 a master carpenter had 3d. and a journeyman 2d.—In 1360 it was raised to 4d. and 3d.^r

(*Pay*

^p Fleetwood. 71.

^q Anderson from Rymer. 1. 316.

^r Fleetwood. 130.

(*Pay of the Army.*)—When an invasion was apprehended, soldiers were hired by Edward the Third at these rates. A man at arms 2s. An armed man 6d. An archer 4d.; very high pay, if compared with the high price of labour, &c.

(*Manners, &c.*)—The bill of fare for an entertainment given by Ralph de Born on his installation to the priory of Saint Augustine's in Canterbury, affords a striking proof of the style of hospitality and sumptuousness which prevailed in this age. Thirty oxen, two hundred sheep, one hundred hogs, fifty-three quarters of wheat, fifty-eight quarters of malt, eleven tuns of wine. A proportionate quantity of poultry, fish and game, made the whole of three thousand dishes, which served as a repast for six thousand guests.

The manner of living in this age and the distribution of landed property are strongly exemplified in the account given of the ravages committed upon the estates of the elder Spencer. His adversaries laid waste sixty-three manors; and, among other, articles were six hundred bacons: eighty carcasses of beef; and six hundred muttons. As the ravages happened in the month of May, these may be supposed to be the remains only of his winter provision. Mr. Hume deduces from this fact "the wretched state" of ancient husbandry, which could not provide subsistence for the cattle "during the winter." We may likewise deduce from the state of husbandry the comparatively small degree of population. The greatest part of the land was *common* pasture; three acres of which is not equal in produce to one of arable in the improved state.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

In 1421 the pound of silver was coined into 30 shillings of 176 grains; about $2\frac{1}{10}$ of ours—in 1422 into 37 shillings and 6 pence of 142 grains; about $1\frac{1}{2}$ of ours—in 1426 into 30 shillings of 176 grains—and in 1461 again into 37 shillings and 6 pence of 142 grains.

(*Corn.*)—The highest price of wheat during this century was 1l. 6s. 8d. the lowest was 1s. 2d.; and the average of twenty-four years was 9s. 8d.—In the reign of Henry the Fourth, permission was given to export corn when it was at *low* prices:—wheat at 6s. 8d. a quarter and barley at 3s. 4d.

(*Wool*

(*Wool and Cloth.*)—Twenty-three tod of pure wool, according to Fleetwood, was sold in 1425 for 10l. 18s. 6d. i. e. at 9s. 6d. a tod of 28lb. —A penalty was inflicted by parliament in 1489 for selling cloth of grain colours for above 16s.; or cloth of other colours for above 11s. a yard.* —Manufactures we may hence deduce, were not yet advanced.

(*Wages.*)—A carpenter, mason, or tiler, without diet 4½d.—other labourers, without diet, 3½d. in summer and 2½d. in winter.—A reaper, without diet, 5d.—A mower 6d. a day.†

(*Pay of the army.*)—In Edward the Fourth's reign a duke's pay was 13s. 4d.—an earl's 6s. 8d.—a baron's or baronet's 4s.—the king's physician and the dean of his chapel, each 2s.—the other clergy 1s. 2d.—Surgeons 1s.—A knight 2s.—A spearman 1s.—An archer 6d.—A judge's salary was 110 marks, or 7sl. 6s. 8d.‡

(*Landed Property and Commerce.*)—The great change which took place in the circumstances of the English nation during the next three centuries originated in the reign of Henry the Seventh. That wise monarch, sensible of the danger which must ever attend the vast property and influence of the barons and the difficulty of restraining them by force, determined to weaken them by policy. With that view he caused an act to be passed to enable them to alienate their estates; thus providing them with a means of gradually diminishing their own greatness and power. And though some of his acts, prove that he was unacquainted with the true principles of trade, yet his protection and encouragement contributed to its advancement; and concurred with the discovery of the Indies to enrich the mercantile world, and create purchasers for the mouldering estates of the barons.

THE

* Anderson. 1. 524.

† Fleetwood. 131.

‡ Anderson. 1. 502. from Rymer.

x Anderson. 1. 486.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

In 1509 the pound of silver was coined into 45 shillings of 118 grains; or near $1\frac{1}{2}$ of ours—in 1543 into 48 of 100; about $1\frac{1}{2}$ —in 1545 into 48 of 60 grains, with 2 ounces, instead of 18 pennyweights, of alloy; about $\frac{1}{4}$ the value of ours—in 1546 into 48 of 40 grains with eight ounces of alloy—in 1552 into 72 of 20 with 9 ounces of alloy—in 1560 into 60 of 89 grains with 18 pennyweights of alloy.

(Corn and Cattle.)—The highest price of wheat during this century was 2l. 16s. 8d. The lowest 4s. Average of 21 years 1l. 11s. 11d.—A good sheep was sold in 1558 for 2s. 10d.¹

(Wages.)—A labourer in 1557 was paid for threshing a quarter of wheat, which is two ordinary days' work, 1s. 1d.²—Here the reader may observe the effects produced by the discovery of the Spanish silver mines at the close of the fifteenth century; the price of labour and the necessities of life increased above a third (allowing for the different weights of the same coin) in the space of a few years. Hence he may deduce the probable effect of an unlimited increase of any other instrument of exchange.

(Land and Husbandry.)—The low state of tillage appears in an act passed in this century to check the prevailing inclination to convert arable land to pasture, by prohibiting farmers from keeping more than two thousand sheep in one flock. The preamble says that there were some of twenty-four thousand.—And the bad state of husbandry in general appears from the low value of the land itself compared with that of its produce. In 1544 an equal quantity of meadow and pasture land in Cambridgeshire was let for 1s. an acre.³ Supposing then that common arable was equally valuable and that it was sold for sixteen years purchase, which we have reason to think a very high price in this age, a sack of wheat at the medium price (as above) would buy the fee of an acre of land; whereas in the eighteenth century twenty sacks at a medium price will not do it. And even in meadow and pasture, where little labour, skill, or expence is required, the price of the product was more than twice as great, in proportion

¹ Fleetwood. 97. 6.² Idem.³ Hume. 4. 278. 4.

portion to the rent, in the sixteenth as in the eighteenth century. The price of meat was from 16d. to 18d. a score. The value of a score of meat therefore, at an average, was more than equal to the rent of an acre of land in the former century, whereas that of two score is not equal to it in the latter.

(*Hops and Vegetables.*)—The use and cultivation of hops are said to have been introduced in the beginning of this century. Salads and eatable roots were planted here about this time, likewise.^b

(*Liquors.*)—In 1504 red wine was sold at 4l. a tun. Claret at 3l. 18s. 4d. White wine 3l. 6s. 8d. Ale of London 1l. 10s.; of Canterbury 1l. 5s.^c

(*Arts, Manners, &c.*)—Hume in his reflections on the reign of Henry the Second, says, “that as the king and all the barons were of French extraction, the manners of that people gained an ascendant and “were regarded as models of imitation.”—The English nation do not, however, appear, at this period, to have derived any essential improvement or taste for the elegancies of life from an imitation of their more polished neighbours. Holinshed, who lived in queen Elizabeth’s time, says that in the *preceding age* “there scarcely was a chimney to the houses, “even in considerable towns: the fire was kindled by the wall, and the “smoke sought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows. The houses “were nothing but wattling plastered over with clay. The people slept “on straw pallets, and had a good round log under their head, for a “pillow; and almost all the furniture and utensils were of wood.”

In great cities, and countries where there is an easy communication, the arts are promoted by emulation in things which are called luxuries. But in a country so thinly inhabited as England must now have been, desolated by civil war and rapine, and in which the roads were scarcely passable, there could have been but little intercourse, or rivalry in domestic accommodations. We are not therefore to be surprised that the nation had made so small a progress in the arts, and, in the course of four centuries, had advanced no further on the scale of refinement than from *litter* to a *straw pallet* and a *good round log for a pillow*.

THE

^b Hume. 4. 278. 4.^c Fleetwood. 94.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

In the year 1603 the pound of silver was coined into 62 shillings, with the usual alloy of 18 grains; and at this number it remains.

(*Corn and Husbandry.*)—The highest price of a quarter of wheat of nine bushels at Windsor market during the first ten years of this century was 2l. 16s. 8d.—the lowest was 1l. 9s.—the average 1l. 17s. 10d.—The prices of the second ten were 2l. 8s. 8d.; 1l. 10s. 4d.; 2l. 1s. 1d.—Of the third ten it was 2l. 18s. 8d.; 1l. 8s.; 2l. 1s. 1d.—Of the fourth ten it was 3l. 8s.; 2l. 4s. 8d.; 2l. 14s. 9d.—And of six years between 1640 and 1650 it was 4l. 5s.; 2l. 8s.; and 3l. 6s. 8d.—By a proclamation of James the First establishing public magazines, the commissioners were empowered to purchase corn for them, whenever wheat was below 1l. 12s. a quarter, and barley 16s.⁴

These prices, at a period when money was scarce and the rent of land low, were comparatively very great. The fact tends to prove that little or no progress had at this time been made in husbandry. The land had, as yet, been chiefly in the hands of small copy and lease-holders under lords who generally resided at their country seats; both of whom were independent of improvements or great exertions for what they deemed the comforts of life. But the gradual increase of expence and taxes since the revolution has rendered it necessary for men of landed property to raise their rents, and of course for their tenants to improve their estates.—This stimulus has concurred with the security of property and other causes to produce that gradual improvement which has been made in land during the eighteenth century.—The writer has not been able to ascertain the pay of labourers in husbandry.—It was probably low in comparison with the price of the necessaries of life. But the right of common which many of them enjoyed assisted their industry in supplying a subsistence for their families.

(*Wool.*)—Wool was sold for 1l. 13s. a tod of twenty-eight pounds during the greatest part of James the First's reign.* And the high price of the material, with the high interest of money, which was ten per cent, and the

⁴ Hume. 6. 175.

* Idem.

the necessity of sending cloth to Flanders to be dyed, must have rendered this article also dear.

The progress of literature, science, and the fine arts, the extension of commerce and the freer intercourse with other nations which ensued on it, together with the division of landed property in consequence of the law of Henry the Seventh before mentioned, produced a material change in the circumstances and character of the English nation in the course of two centuries. The old English baron revelling with the companions of his coarse debaucheries had given place to a much more refined character. The example of James the First, though himself what in this age would be deemed a pedant, encouraged a taste for learning, and that of Charles the First a taste for the fine arts; and the gaiety and courtesousness of Charles the Second, captivating his subjects, together with his licentiousness appears to have diffused a portion of his urbanity throughout the kingdom.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The coinage of silver continues as in the seventeenth century.

(*Corn and Husbandry.*)—The highest price of a quarter of wheat during this century was 7l. 16s.: the lowest 1l.

(*Cattle.*)—Price of a stock ewe between the years 1700 and 1750 was from 5s. to 7s.: that of the same between 1770 and 1800 from 1l. to 1l. 15s. The price of a lamb in the former period from 4s. to 5s.: in the latter, from 15s. to 1l. 4s. Of a middle-sized cow in the former period, from 3l. to 5l.: in the latter from 10l. to 20l. Of a cart-horse in the former period, from 10l. to 15l.: in the latter from 25l. to 35l.

(*Wool.*)—The common price of a weight of wool of twenty pounds in the former period was about 12s. in the latter from 1l. to 1l. 10s.

(*Wages.*)—The wages of a mason or carpenter in the former period was from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. a day: of a labourer in some parts of England 9d. in others 10d. in others 1s.: in the latter, a mason or carpenter from 1s. 8d. to 2s. 6d. and a labourer from a 1s. to 1s. 10d.

(*Manners, &c.*)—There appears to have been very little change of national character or manners between the latter end of the seventeenth and the middle of the eighteenth century. The courtier and country gentleman

gentleman in the beginning of George the Second's reign much resembled his ancestor in king William's: and the clergyman, and the farmer, was nearly the same character in each period. But an essential change has taken place in the course of the last fifty years of the late century. A taste for what is grand, sumptuous and stately in persons of rank, and for simplicity of dress and manners in the middle orders, have both given way to a taste for elegance and expence, which, in some instances, is carried to excess.—The change does not, however, appear to have had any prejudicial effect on the morals of either. Though the virtues and vices of the two ages are different, yet the aggregate sum of them is not, perhaps, materially altered.—But the case is different with the lowest orders. Among them, unhappily, the change has been accompanied with a loss of those habits of industry and that spirit of independency which are the foundation of all that is valuable in that class of the community.

PRICE

PRICE OF WHEAT FROM 1651 TO 1801.

THIS table, to the year 1764, is extracted from Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, and gives the price of a quarter of nine bushels of the highest priced wheat at Windsor market:—From 1771 it is taken from the Appendix to the Annual Register for 1801, and gives the average prices of the kingdom of a quarter of wheat by the Winchester bushel.

YEAR.	PRICE. £. s. d.	AVERAGE.	YEAR.	PRICE. £. s. d.	AVERAGE.
1651	3 13 4	2 9 4	1671	2 2 0	2 10 7
1652	2 9 6		1672	2 1 0	
1653	1 15 6		1673	2 6 8	
1654	1 6 0		1674	3 8 8	
1655	1 13 4		1675	3 4 8	
1656	2 3 0		1676	1 18 0	
1657	1 6 8		1677	2 2 0	
1658	1 5 0		1678	2 19 0	
1659	3 6 0		1679	3 0 0	
1660	2 16 6		1680	2 5 0	
1661	3 10 0	2 8 10	1681	2 6 8	1 19 1
1662	3 14 0		1682	2 4 0	
1663	2 17 0		1683	2 0 0	
1664	2 0 6		1684	2 4 0	
1665	2 9 4		1685	2 6 8	
1666	1 16 0		1686	1 14 0	
1667	1 16 0		1687	1 5 2	
1668	2 0 0		1688	2 6 0	
1669	2 4 4		1689	1 10 0	
1670	2 1 8		1690	1 14 8	

1691

PRICE OF WHEAT FROM 1691 TO 1770.

YEAR.	PRICE. £. s. d.	AVERAGE.	YEAR.	PRICE. £. s. d.	AVERAGE.
1691	1 14 0	2 16 10	1731	1 12 10	1 17 2
1692	2 6 8		1732	1 6 8	
1693	3 7 8		1733	1 8 4	
1694	3 4 0		1734	1 18 10	
1695	2 13 0		1735	2 3 0	
1696	3 11 0		1736	2 0 4	
1697	3 0 0		1737	1 18 0	
1698	3 8 4		1738	1 15 6	
1699	3 4 0		1739	1 18 6	
1700	2 0 0		1740	2 10 8	
1701	1 17 8	2 3 2	1741	2 6 8	1 13 9
1702	1 9 6		1742	1 14 0	
1703	1 16 0		1743	1 4 10	
1704	2 6 6		1744	1 4 10	
1705	1 10 0		1745	1 7 6	
1706	1 6 0		1746	1 19 0	
1707	1 8 6		1747	1 14 10	
1708	2 1 6		1748	1 17 0	
1709	3 18 6		1749	1 17 0	
1710	3 18 0		1750	1 12 6	
1711	2 14 0	2 4 10	1751	1 18 6	2 1 8
1712	2 6 4		1752	2 1 10	
1713	2 11 0		1753	2 4 8	
1714	2 10 4		1754	1 14 8	
1715	2 3 0		1755	1 13 10	
1716	2 8 0		1756	2 5 3	
1717	2 5 8		1757	3 0 0	
1718	1 18 10		1758	2 10 0	
1719	1 15 0		1759	1 19 10	
1720	1 17 0		1760	1 16 6	
1721	1 17 6	2 1 11	1761	1 10 3	2 12 6
1722	1 16 0		1762	1 19 0	
1723	1 14 8		1763	2 0 9	
1724	1 17 0		1764	2 6 9	
1725	2 8 6		1765	wanting	
1726	2 6 0		1766	2 3 1	
1727	2 2 0		1767	3 4 6	
1728	2 14 6		1768	3 0 6	
1729	2 6 10		1769	2 5 8	
1730	1 16 6		1770	2 9 0	

1771

PRICE OF WHEAT FROM 1771 TO 1800.

519

YEAR.	PRICE.	AVERAGE.	YEAR.	PRICE.	AVERAGE.
	£. s. d.			£. s. d.	
1771	2 7 2	2 4 5	1791	2 7 0	3 2 6
1772	2 10 8		1792	2 2 4	
1773	2 11 0		1793	2 8 8	
1774	2 12 8		1794	2 11 0	
1775	2 8 4		1795	4 2 0	
1776	1 18 2		1796	3 12 4	
1777	2 5 6		1797	2 12 0	
1778	2 2 0		1798	2 9 8	
1779	1 13 8		1799	3 7 4	
1780	1 15 8		1800	5 12 8	
1781	2 4 8	2 6 6			
1782	2 7 10				
1783	2 12 8				
1784	1 8 10				
1785	2 1 10				
1786	1 18 10				
1787	2 1 2				
1788	2 5 0				
1789	2 11 2				
1790	2 13 2				

N. B. The statement in the Annual Register does not express that the prices are by the Winchester bushel: but, from 1771 to 1788, they exactly correspond with Mr. Anderson's account, which does express it; whence it is presumed that the whole is by that measure.

ARTICLE IV.

ADMINISTRATIONS.

THE writer was induced to give the following account of the appointments to the chief offices of state in the several administrations formed during this period, and of the several partial changes which have been made in them, by its obvious utility in the perusal of this or any other contemporary history of the English transactions.—The household appointments are also given on account of the frequent changes between these and the state offices.

The following persons filled the chief offices of state in 1753, under what was called *Mr. Pelham's administration*.

Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwicke, was lord high chancellor.—The honourable Henry Pelham was first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and prime minister.—The earl of Grenville was president of the council. Lord Gower was privy seal. Lord Anson first lord of the admiralty. The duke of Newcastle and earl of Holderness secretaries of state. The earl of Halifax first commissioner of trade and plantations. Duke of Grafton chamberlain; duke of Marlborough steward, earl Fitzwalter treasurer, and sir Conyers d'Arcy comptroller of the household. The honourable Bilson Legge treasurer of the navy. Duke of Montagu master of the ordnance. Henry Fox, secretary at war. William Pitt paymaster. —The duke of Dorset was at this time lord lieutenant of Ireland.

3 U 2

(1754.)

(1754.) On the death of Mr. Pelham this year, the following changes were made in the offices of state and household.—*The duke of Newcastle* succeeded his brother as first lord of the treasury and prime minister. The earl Holderness succeeded the duke as secretary for the northern department, and was succeeded by sir Thomas Robinson in the southern. H. Bilson Legge was appointed chancellor of the exchequer: G. Grenville treasurer of the navy: the earl of Hillsborough comptroller of the household.

(1755.) At the beginning of this year the duke of Marlborough was appointed privy seal; but, before the close of it, he was succeeded by earl Gower, and was appointed master of the ordnance.—In the autumn, new arrangements were made in the ministry, agreeably with the wishes of the duke of Cumberland.—Henry Fox succeeded Mr. Robinson as secretary, and was succeeded by lord Barrington as secretary at war. Sir G. Lyttleton succeeded Mr. Legge as chancellor of the exchequer and George Doddington was made treasurer of the navy. The duke of Rutland was appointed lord Steward, lord Berkley treasurer, lord Hobart comptroller of the household, and earl Darlington and lord Dupplin joint paymasters.

In the mean-time the duke of Dorset had been appointed master of the horse, and was succeeded by the marquis of Hartington as lord lieutenant of Ireland.

(1756.) In the autumn of this year, his majesty was constrained by the exigency of public affairs to form a new administration.—*Mr. Pitt*, succeeding Mr. Fox as secretary, took the lead in it. *The duke of Devonshire* was made first lord of the treasury. Mr. Legge chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Temple succeeded lord Anson at the head of the admiralty. The earl of Hertford was made chamberlain, viscount Bateman treasurer, and lord Edgewcombe comptroller of the household.

On the resignation of the earl of Hardwicke, the great seal was committed to Willes, Smythe, and Wilmot, november nineteen.

(1757.)

(1757.) After a violent concussion in the ministry, occasioned by a trial of strength between the friends and adherents of Mr. Pitt and those of the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox, a new ministry was formed by a coalition between them, but agreeably to the wishes of the former. In this *Mr. Pitt* took the lead as secretary of state. The duke of Newcastle was restored to the station of first lord of the treasury. Mr. Legge to that of chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Anson was made first lord of the admiralty, lord Temple privy seal, Mr. Fox paymaster of the forces; duke of Devonshire chamberlain; lord Gower master of the horse.—Robert Henley, afterwards lord Northington, was appointed lord keeper.

This year the duke of Bedford was made lord lieutenant of Ireland.

(1759.) Lord Ligonier was appointed master of the ordnance, on the decease of the duke of Marlborough this year in Germany.

(1760.) The earl of Huntingdon was this year appointed master of the horse.

(1761.) A change of councils is indicated in the appointment of the earl of Bute to the office of secretary, and lord Barrington chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of lord Holderness and Mr. Legge.†—Further changes soon ensued: the earl of Egremont was made secretary and the duke of Bedford privy seal, in the room of Mr. Pitt and the earl of Temple.

Earl Talbot was this year appointed steward of the household, earl Powis treasurer, duke of Rutland master of the horse, and lord Sandys first lord of trade.

In the autumn, the earl of Halifax was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland.

(1762.) In may, a new arrangement was made of the ministry.—*The earl of Bute* succeeded the duke of Newcastle as first lord of the treasury, and was succeeded by George Grenville as secretary. Lord le Despencer was appointed chancellor of the exchequer and lord Barrington treasurer of the navy.

In

† In March.

ADMINISTRATIONS.

In october the earl of Halifax succeeded Mr. Grenville as secretary.—The duke of Marlborough was appointed chamberlain of the household.

(1763.) In april a new administration was formed, at the head of which *Mr. G. Grenville* was placed as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Sandwich was made first lord of the admiralty: the earl of Shelburne first lord of trade and plantations: the duke of Marlborough privy seal: and earl Gower chamberlain of the household.

On the death of the earl of Egremont, the earl of Sandwich was, in september, made secretary: duke of Bedford president of the council: and the earls of Egmont and Hillsborough were placed at the head of the boards of admiralty and trade.—And the marquis of Granby was made master of the ordnance.

(1765.) An administration was now formed,† under the auspices of the *marquis of Rockingham*, who was appointed first lord of the treasury: * the duke of Grafton and Mr. Conway secretaries: Mr. Dowdeswell chancellor of the exchequer: earl Winchelsea president of the council: duke of Newcastle privy seal: Charles Townshend paymaster: lord Barington secretary at war: lord Edgcombe treasurer of the household, and viscount Howe treasurer of the navy.

Lord Weymouth was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in may, but did not take possession, and was succeeded by the earl of Hertford in october.

(1766.) The ministry, not having weight and influence sufficient to support itself, is borne down by the opposition.—A new administration is formed by the earl of Chatham, in which he took the office of privy seal, and the *duke of Grafton* took the lead as first lord of the treasury.‖ The great seal was given to lord Camden, in the room of the earl of Northington, appointed president of the council. The earl of Shelburne and general Conway were secretaries. Mr. Charles Townshend chancellor
of

† In July.

‖ In August.

* Mr. Burke was now first employed in the government as secretary to the treasury.

of the exchequer. Lord North and George Cooke paymasters. Sir Charles Saunders was made first lord of the admiralty in september, and was succeeded by sir Edward Hawke in december.—The earl of Hertford was appointed chamberlain of the household and Mr. Shelley treasurer, and the duke of Ancaster master of the horse.

The earl of Bristol was appointed lord lieutenant in june, but did not go to Ireland.

(1767.) Some new arrangements were this year made in the ministry.—Lord North succeeded Charles Townshend, deceased, as chancellor of the exchequer. Earl Gower was appointed president of the council; and Mr. T. Townshend was appointed joint paymaster.

In october viscount Townshend was appointed to the lord lieutenancy in the room of the earl of Bristol.

(1768.) Disappointment and disapprobation of public measures occasioned the resignation of the earl of Chatham. The privy seal was now given to the earl of Bristol.† The earl of Rochford was appointed secretary for the northern department in the room of lord Weymouth, who succeeded the earl of Shelburne in the southern.—Mr. Rigby was appointed paymaster.

In january the earl of Hillsborough was appointed to the newly created office of secretary to the colonies.

(1770.) Some violent debates in parliament were followed by a change in some of the chief offices of state early in this year.—The great seal was given to Charles Yorke; and, on his death it was put in commission.—*Lord North* was placed at the head of administration as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. And the earl of Halifax was made privy seal in the room of the earl of Bristol, appointed groom of the stole.—In the autumn, the earl of Rochford was appointed secretary for the southern department, and was succeeded by the earl of Sandwich in the northern.

(1771.)

† In October.

(1771.) At the opening of this year, the earl of Suffolk was appointed privy seal, earl Sandwich first lord of the admiralty, earl Halifax secretary in his room, and lord Apsley chancellor. But on the death of the earl of Halifax, in june, the earl of Suffolk succeeded him as secretary, and the duke of Grafton was made privy seal.

(1772.) The earl of Dartmouth this year succeeded the earl of Hillsborough as secretary for the colonies, and was also appointed to succeed him as first lord of trade and plantations.

In the autumn, the earl of Harcourt was appointed lord lieutenant, in the room of lord Townshend, appointed master of the ordnance.

(1774.) Sir W. Meredith is appointed comptroller of the household.

(1776.) At the close of this year the earl of Buckinghamshire succeeded the earl of Harcourt in the government of Ireland.

(1777.) This year Welbore Ellis was appointed treasurer of the navy.—The earl of Carlisle was appointed treasurer of the household and lord Onslow comptroller.

(1778.) Lord Thurlow this year succeeded lord Apsley, now earl Bathurst, as chancellor.—The duke of Northumberland succeeded the earl of Ancaster as master of the horse.

(1779.) In the autumn, lord Stormont was made secretary in the room of the earl of Suffolk deceased; and the earl of Hillsborough succeeded lord Weymouth. And earl Bathurst succeeded lord Gower as president of the council.—Lord Onslow was appointed treasurer of the household, and sir Richard Worsley comptroller.

(1780.) The earl of Carlisle was this year appointed lord lieutenant, and the earl of Salisbury treasurer of the household; the duke of Montagu master of the horse.

(1782.)

(1782.) The opposition being at last successful in their efforts to accomplish a change of ministry, † *the marquis of Rockingham* was placed at the head of a new administration as first lord of the treasury. The following were cabinet ministers. Lord Camden president of the council: the duke of Grafton privy seal: lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer: the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox secretaries: admiral Keppel first lord of the admiralty: general Conway commander of the forces: the duke of Richmond master of the ordnance: lord Thurlow, chancellor of England: and lord Ashburton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.—Beside these appointments to the cabinet, Mr. Burke was made paymaster: colonel Barré treasurer of the navy: Mr. Thomas Townshend secretary at war: the duke of Manchester chamberlain; the earl of Carlisle steward; the earl of Effingham treasurer; and earl Ludlow comptroller of the household.

The death of the marquis of Rockingham, a few months after his administration was formed, ‡ was immediately followed by a change of ministry.—*The earl of Shelburne* was placed at the head of the treasury: Mr. T. Townshend and lord Grantham were made secretaries; Mr. Pitt chancellor of the exchequer; sir George Yonge secretary at war; colonel Barré paymaster; and H. Dundas treasurer of the navy.

The duke of Portland was appointed lord lieutenant in april, and was succeeded by the earl of Temple in september.

(1783.) The earl of Shelburne's administration was overpowered, when it had continued about nine months, by a coalition between the friends of lord North and Mr. Fox. ||—*The duke of Portland* was now placed at the head of a new administration as first lord of the treasury. Lord Stormont was appointed president of the council: lord Keppel first lord of the admiralty: earl of Carlisle privy seal: lord North and Mr. Fox secretaries: lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer: Edmund Burke paymaster: Mr. Fitzpatrick secretary at war; lord Townshend treasurer of the navy: the earl of Hertford chamberlain; the earl of Dartmouth steward; and Charles Greville treasurer of the household.

This administration was of short duration.—The ill opinion entertained of Mr. Fox's India bill proving fatal to it, *Mr. Pitt* was placed at the head of

† March.

‡ In July.

|| April.

ADMINISTRATIONS.

of a new administration as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Thurlow was appointed high chancellor: lord Howe first lord of the admiralty: lord Gower president of the council: the duke of Rutland privy seal: the marquis of Carmarthen and lord Sidney secretaries: the earl of Salisbury chamberlain and the duke of Chandos steward of the household: the duke of Richmond master of the ordnance: W. W. Grenville paymaster: H. Dundas treasurer of the navy: and lord Mulgrave secretary at war.

In the month of june the earl of Northington succeeded the earl of Temple in the government of Ireland.

(1784.) In january, sir G. Yonge was made secretary at war, and in april W. W. Grenville and lord Mulgrave were made joint paymasters.— In august earl Courtown was made treasurer of the household: and in november earl Gower was made privy seal, and earl Camden president of the council.

Early in this year the duke of Rutland succeeded the earl of Northington as lord lieutenant.

(1786.) In september the earl of Hawkesbury was appointed president of the committee of trade and plantation, now re-established.

(1787.) In november the marquis of Buckingham succeeded the duke of Rutland as lord lieutenant of Ireland.

(1788.) In july the earl of Chatham was made first lord of the admiralty.

(1789.) In june Mr. W. W. Grenville succeeded lord Sydney as secretary of state.

(1790.) In september the duke of Montrose was appointed master of the horse.

(1791.) In march Mr. Steele and Mr. Ryder were made paymasters;
and

and in june Mr. Henry Dundas was made secretary in the room of lord Carmarthen, now duke of Leeds.

(1793.) In january lord Loughborough was appointed chancellor in the room of lord Thurlow, who resigned the seals in the preceding year.

(1794.) This year some material changes were made in the state appointments.—In july the duke of Portland was made secretary, in the room of Mr. W. W. Windham, who was made secretary at war. Earl Fitzwilliam was made president of the council, and earl Spencer privy seal.—On the appointment of earl Fitzwilliam to the government of Ireland, in december, the earl of Mansfield was made president of the council, the earl of Chatham privy seal, and earl Spencer first lord of the admiralty.

(1795.) Lord Camden was appointed to the government of Ireland in march, in consequence of the misunderstanding between earl Fitzwilliam and the ministry.

(1796.) In september the earl of Chatham succeeded the earl of Mansfield as president of the council.

(1798.) In february the earl of Westmoreland was appointed privy seal.

(1801.) A question which came before the council in consequence of the union with Ireland brought on a general change in the ministry.—In march *Mr. Henry Addington* was placed at the head of a new administration as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer: the lords Hawkesbury and Hobart were made secretaries: lord Eldon chancellor: earl St. Vincent first lord of the admiralty: Mr. Charles Yorke secretary at war: Mr. Steele and lord Glenbervie joint paymasters.—In june the earl of Chatham was appointed master of the ordnance: and in july the duke of Portland was appointed president of the council, and lord Pelham secretary of state.

APPENDIX.

NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC, 1799.

TITLE I.

"ARTICLE 1. THE French republic is one and indivisible.

1799

"Its European territory is distributed into departmental and communal districts (*arrondissements*.)

"2. Every man of the age of twenty-one years complete, born and resident in France, who has caused his name to be inscribed upon the civic list of his communal district, and who has dwelt from that period for a year within the territory of the republic, is a French citizen.

"3. A foreigner becomes a French citizen when, after having attained the age of twenty-one years complete, and after having declared his intention of settling in France, has resided in it ten years without interruption.

"4. The character of French citizen may be lost—

"By naturalization in a foreign country;

"By the acceptance of functions, or of pensions offered by a foreign government;

"By affiliation with any foreign corporation, which would infer distinction of birth; by condemnation to corporal or ignominious punishments.

"5. The exercise of the rights of French citizen is suspended by a man's being an insolvent debtor, or a direct heir keeping up, with an onerous title, the succession of a bankrupt, in whole or in part;

"By a man's acting as a hired domestic, attached either to the person or the business of an individual;

"By a man's being in a state of judicial interdiction, accusation, or contumacy.

"6. In order to exercise the rights of citizenship in a communal district, a person must have fixed in it his domicile or place of abode by a year's residence, and at the same time he must not have lost it by a year's absence.

"7. The citizens of every communal district are to point out, by their votes, those they conceive most proper to manage the public affairs. The number so pointed out forms a list of men worthy of confidence, amounting to a tenth of the number of citizens having a right to vote. Out of this list are to be chosen the public functionaries of the district.

"8. The

1799

" 8. The citizens, comprehended in the communal lists of a department, shall likewise point out a tenth part of their own number. Hence is formed a second list, called departmental, from which are to be chosen the public functionaries of the department.

" 9. The citizens whose names stand on the departmental list, shall likewise name a tenth of their own number. Thus there is a third list formed, which comprehends the citizens of the department eligible to public national functions.

" 10. The citizens having a right to assist in the formation of any of the lists mentioned in the three preceding articles, are to be called upon, every three years, to supply the place of those upon the lists who may have died, or who are absent for any other cause than that of exercising a public employment.

" 11. They at the same time may erase from the list those whom they think unfit to appear any longer upon it, and appoint as their successors other citizens in whom they have greater confidence.

" 12. No person can be erased from any of the lists, but by the votes of an absolute majority of the citizens having a right to vote on its formation.

" 13. A person is not to be erased from one list of eligible persons, solely because he is, at a given period, member of another list, inferior or superior.

" 14. Inscription on a list of persons eligible, is not necessary but for those public offices, for which this condition is expressly required by the constitution of the law. All the lists of eligible persons shall be formed in the course of the year nine.

1801

TITLE II.

Of the Conservative Senate.

" 15. The conservative senate is composed of eighty members, irremovable, and for life, who shall be forty years of age at least.

" For the formation of the senate, there shall at first be named sixty members. This number shall be increased to sixty-two in the course of the year eight; to sixty-four in the course of the year nine; and thus be gradually increased to eighty, by the addition of two members during each of the ten first years.

" 16. The appointment to the situation of senator is made by the senate itself, which chooses one out of three candidates presented; the first by the legislative body, the second by the tribunate, and the third by the chief consul.

" The senate may choose one of two candidates, in case that one of them is proposed by two of the presenting bodies. The senate must admit a person who is proposed, on the same occasion, by all the three authorities.

" 17. The chief consul quitting his station, either on the expiration of his functions, or in consequence of resignation, becomes a senator by immediate right, and of necessity.

" The two consuls, during the month which follows the expiration of their functions, may take a place in the senate, and are not obliged to avail themselves of this right.

" They do not possess this right at all when they quit their consular functions by resignation.

" 18. A senator is for ever ineligible to any other public function.

" 19. All the lists made up in the departments in virtue of the ninth article, are to be addressed to the senate. They compose the national list.

" 20. Out of this list the senate chooses the legislators, tribunes, consuls, judges of cessation, and commissioners of accounts.

" 21. It is to maintain or to annul all the resolutions referred to it as unconstitutional by the tribunate

tribunate or the government. The lists of eligible persons are comprehended among such resolutions.

2799

" 22. The revenues of certain national domains to be fixed upon, are to be liable to the payment of the expences of the senate. The annual salary of each member is to be taken out of these revenues. It is to be equal to the twentieth of that of the chief consul.

" 23. The sittings of the senate are not to be public.

" 24. The citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, the consuls quitting their functions, are appointed members of the conservative senate. They shall assemble along with the second and third consuls nominated by the present constitution. These four citizens shall appoint the majority of the senate, which shall then complete itself, and proceed to the elections intrusted to it.

TITLE III.

Of the Legislative Power.

" 25. No new laws shall be promulgated, but when the project shall have been proposed by the government, communicated to the tribunate, and decreed by the legislative body.

" 26. The projects which the government proposes shall be drawn up in articles. In every stage of the discussion of these projects the government may withdraw them. It may produce them anew in a modified state.

" 27. The Tribunate is to be composed of one hundred members, at least twenty-five years of age. They are to be renewed by a fifth part every year, and are indefinitely re-eligible as long as they continue on the national list.

" 28. The tribunate discusses the project of a law; and votes for its adoption or rejection.

" It is to send three speakers, chosen out of its own number, who are to explain and defend its views and motives in either case, before the legislative body.

" It may refer to the senate, and that solely, on the ground of unconstitutionality, the lists of persons eligible, the proceedings of the legislative body, and those of the government.

" 29. It may express an opinion respecting laws made, or to be made, respecting abuses that require correction, respecting improvements to be attempted in all the parts of the public administration; but never respecting matters criminal or civil submitted to the courts.

" The opinions which it shall express in virtue of the present article have no necessary consequence, and do not bind any constituted authority to act.

" 30. When the tribunate adjourns itself, it may appoint a committee of from ten to fifteen members, authorized to assemble it, if thought advisable.

" 31. The legislative body is composed of three hundred members, thirty years of age at least. They are renewed by a fifth every year. It must always contain at least one citizen from each department of the republic.

" 32. A member quitting the legislative body cannot be re-elected to it till the lapse of a year; but he may immediately be elected to any other public function, including that of tribune, if in other respects he is eligible.

" 33. The sitting of the legislative body shall commence every year, on the first frimaire (twenty-second november,) and shall continue only four months. It may be extraordinarily convoked during the eight remaining months by the government.

" 34. The legislative body enacts laws by a private ballot, and without any discussion on the part of its members respecting the projects of laws debated in its presence by the speakers of the tribunate and of the government.

" 35. The

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" 35. The sittings of the tribunate and those of the legislative body are to be public. The number of strangers in both shall not exceed two hundred in each.

" 36. The salary of a tribune is to be 15,000 francs (£625;) that of a legislator 10,000 francs (£416.)

" 37. Every decree of the legislative body, upon the tenth day after its passing, shall be promulgated by the chief consul, unless during that interval he has appealed to the senate on the ground of unconstitutionality. This recourse shall not exist against laws promulgated.

" 38. The first renewal of the legislative body shall take place only in the course of the year ten.

TITLE IV.

Of the Government.

" 39. The government is confided to three consuls, chosen for ten years, and re eligible indefinitely.

" Each of these is elected individually in the capacity of first, second, or third consul. In the first instance the third consul shall be appointed only for five years.

" For this time the following are appointed: general Buonaparte, chief consul; citizen Cambaceres, now minister of justice; and citizen Lebrun, member of the committee of elders, third consul.

" 40. The chief consul has functions and prerogatives peculiar to himself, in which his place may be temporarily supplied, when the case occurs, by one of his colleagues.

" 41. The chief consul promulgates laws. He makes and revokes at pleasure appointments of members of the council of state; ministers; ambassadors, and other external superior agents; the officers of the army by sea and land; members of local administrations, and commissioners of the government to the different courts. He appoints all the civil and criminal judges, except the justices of peace, and judges of cessation, without the power of revocation.

" 42. In the other acts of the government, the second and third consuls have deliberate voices. They sign the proceedings, to shew that they were present; and, if they please, they may insert their own opinions, after which, the decision of the chief consul is sufficient.

" 43. The salary of the chief consul shall be 500,000 francs for the year eight (about £20,833.) The salary of each of the other two consuls shall be equal to three-tenths of that of the chief consul.

" 44. The government proposes laws, and makes regulations necessary to carry them into execution.

" 45. The government directs the receipts and expences of the state agreeable to the annual law, which shall determine the amount of each. He is to superintend the coining of money, of which the law alone shall regulate the issue, fix the title, the fashion, and weight.

" 46. If the government is informed that any conspiracies are devising against the state, it may decree summonses of appearance and warrants of arrests, against those who are presumed to be the authors or accomplices. But if after the lapse of ten days after their arrest, they are not liberated, or put in a state for trial, in the regular form, the minister who signs the warrant shall be guilty of arbitrary imprisonment.

" 47. The government shall take measures for the internal security and external defence of the state. He stations the forces, military and naval, and regulates the manner of their being employed.

" 48. The

" 48. The national guard in activity is subject to the direction of the public administration. The sedentary national guard is subject only to the dispositions of the law.

" 49. The government is to maintain political relations abroad, to manage negotiations, make preliminary stipulations, cause, sign, and conclude all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions.

" 50. Declarations of war and treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, are proposed, discussed, decreed, and promulgated like laws.

" Only discussions upon these objects, both in the tribunate and legislative body, are to take place in a secret committee, when the government desires it.

" 51. The secret articles of a treaty cannot destroy the public articles.

" 52. Under the direction of the consuls, the council of state is authorized to draw up projects of laws and regulations of public administration, and to remove the obstacles which may arise in matters of administration.

" 53. It must be out of the council of state that the speakers nominated by the government to state points before the legislative body must be taken.

" These speakers are never to be sent to the number of more than three, to support the same project of a law.

" 54. The ministers procure the execution of laws and regulations of public administration.

" 55. No act of government can have effect if it is not signed by a minister.

" 56. One of the ministers is specially intrusted with the administration of the public treasure. He is to secure the receipts, to order the transfer of sums, and the payments authorized by law; he can make or cause to be made, no payment, except in virtue, 1st, of a law, and till the concurrence of funds which have been fixed for distinct species of expence; 2d, of an arrêt of the government; 3d, of a warrant signed by a minister.

" 57. Detailed accounts of the expence of each minister, signed and certified by him, shall be made public.

" 58. The government can elect or constitute, as counsellors of state or ministers, none but citizens whose names are inscribed on the national list.

" 59. The local administrations, established either for each commercial district, or for more extensive portions of territory, shall be subordinate to the ministers. No person can be made or continue a member of these administrations unless he stand and be retained upon one of the lists mentioned in the seventh and eighth articles.

TITLE V.

" 60. Each commercial district is to have one or more judges of the peace, to be elected immediately by the citizens for the period of three years.

" Their chief function is, to reconcile parties whom they call before them in cases of adverseness to reconciliation, to submit themselves to decisions by arbitration.

" 61. In civil matters, there are to be tribunals in the first resort, and the tribunals of appeal. The law is to determine the organization both of the one and the other; their competency, and the extent of territory that is to circumscribe their sphere of action.

" 62. In matters of misdemeanour (*delits*), where corporal or ignominious punishment is inflicted, there is to be first a jury to admit, or to reject the accusation; if admitted, a second jury is to declare the fact to be proved: the judges then form a criminal tribunal, and adjudge the punishment. Against their decision there is no appeal.

" 63. The place of public accuser before a criminal tribunal is to be filled by the government commissary.

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" 64. Offences

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" 64. Offences, (*délits*) which do not incur corporal or ignominious punishment, are to be judged by tribunals or correctional police, with power of appeal to the criminal tribunals.

" 65. There will be established, for the whole of the republic, a tribunal of cessation, that is to pronounce upon motions for cessation against judgments in dernier resort, pronounced by the tribunals on motions of appeal from one tribunal to another, grounded upon legitimate suspicion, or upon reasons that regard the public safety, where the plea of one party is set up against a whole tribunal.

" 66. The tribunal of cessation does not take cognizance of the grounds of a cause; but it annuls the judgment passed in consequence of proceedings in which either the due forms have been violated, or which contain any express infraction of the law, and it refers the grounds of the cause to the proper tribunal that is to take cognizance of them.

" 67. The judges who preside in the tribunal of first resort, and the government commissaries that are to act in these courts, are to be taken from the communal, or from the departmental list.

" The judges who preside in the tribunals of appeal, and the commissaries who act in these courts, are to be taken from the departmental list.

" The judges who compose the tribunal of cessation, and the commissaries acting in these courts, are to be taken from the national list.

" 68. All judges, except the justices of the peace, are to retain their functions for life, unless they be pronounced to have forfeited them, or unless they be already on the list of those who are deemed ineligible to hold such functions.

TITLE VI.

Responsibility of the Public Functionaries.

" 69. The functions of the members, whether of the senate, the legislative body, the tribunate, or those of the consuls and counsellors of state, leave no room for responsibility.

" 70. Personal offences incurring corporal or ignominious punishment, committed by a member, whether of the senate, the tribunate, the legislative body, or the council of state, are to be prosecuted before the ordinary tribunal, after a deliberation of the body to which such a defendant may belong, shall have authorized such a proceeding.

" 71. Ministers who may be accused of private offences, incurring corporal or ignominious punishment, are to be considered as members of the council of state.

" 72. Ministers are responsible, 1st, for every act of government which they sign, that is declared unconstitutional by the senate; 2d, for the inexecution of the laws and the regulations of the public administration; 3d, for the particular orders they may issue, should these orders be contrary to the constitution, to the laws or regulations.

" 73. Where such cases occur as are stated in the foregoing article, the tribunate is to impeach the minister in virtue of an act upon which the legislative body is to deliberate in the usual forms, after having heard or summoned before them the person impeached. The minister who is brought to trial, by a decree of the legislative body, is to be tried by a high court, with power of appeal or recurrence to an act of cessation.

" The high court is to consist of judges and of juries: the judges to be chosen by, and from among the tribunal of cessation; the juries to be taken from the national list. The whole agreeably to the forms prescribed by the law.

" 74. The civil and criminal judges, in case of offences derogatory to their functions, are to be

be prosecuted before the tribunals to which they may be referred by the tribunal of cessation after having annulled their decrees.

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" 75. The other agents of government, besides the ministers, cannot be prosecuted for acts connected with their functions, but in virtue of a decision of the council of state: in such cases the prosecution is to be carried on before the ordinary tribunals.

TITLE VII.

General Dispositions.

" 76. The house of every person inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable asylum.

" During the night no one has a right to enter such house but in case of fire, or inundation, or of a request made for such purpose from the inhabitants of the house.

During the day it may be entered for some special object pointed out by a law, or by an order issued by a public authority.

" 77. In order to give effect to the act which authorizes the arresting of a person, it is necessary, 1st, that they do formally express the motives of the arrest, and the law by virtue of which it has been ordered; 2d, that it should be issued by a functionary formally invested with this power by the law; 3d, that it must be notified to the person arrested, and that a copy of it be also left with him.

" 78. A keeper or jailor cannot receive or detain any person till after he has transcribed into his register the act that orders the arrest. This act must be an order issued agreeably to the forms prescribed by the preceding article, or by a warrant for apprehending the person, or a decree of accusation, or a sentence pronounced.

" 79. The keeper or jailor is bound (nor can any order free him from the obligation) to bring forward the person so detained before the civil officer, who inspects the police of such prison, as often as the same may be required by such magistrate.

" 80. Access to the person imprisoned cannot be refused to his relations and friends, furnished with an order to that effect by the civil officer, who shall be always bound to grant such order, unless the keeper or jailor can shew an instruction from the judge to keep the person in secret confinement.

" 81. All those who, not being authorized by the law to arrest a person, shall issue, sign, or execute, an order for such arrest; all those who, even in the case of an arrest authorized by the law, shall receive or detain the person arrested in any place of confinement not publicly and legally pointed out as such; and all the keepers and jailors who shall act contrary to the sense of the three preceding articles, shall be held guilty of the charge of arbitrary imprisonment.

" 82. All means of rigour employed in arrestations, imprisonments, or executions, except such as are ordained by the laws, are to be held as crimes.

" 83. Every person has the right of addressing private petitions to every constituted authority, and more especially to the tribunate.

" 84. It is of the essence of the public force, to obey; no armed body can deliberate.

" 85. Military offences are to be submitted to special tribunals, and to particular forms of trial.

" 86. The French nation declares, that pensions shall be granted to all military persons wounded in the defence of the country, as also the widows and children of military men who may be killed in the field of battle, or who may die in consequence of their wounds.

" 87. National rewards shall be decreed to such warriors as shall render distinguished services to the republic in fighting for its defence.

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" 88. A

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" 88. A constituted body cannot open a deliberation but in a sitting, of which at least two-thirds of its members shall be present.

" 89. A national institute is appointed to collect discoveries, and to advance the perfection of the sciences and arts.

" 90. A commission of national accounts shall regulate and verify the entry of the receipts and expenditure of the republic. This commission is to consist of seven members chosen by the senate from the national list.

" 91. The administration of the French colonies is to be determined by special laws.

" 92. In cases of revolt in the armed force, or of disturbances that threaten the safety of the state, the law may suspend, in such places and for such time as it may determine, the powers of the constitution.

" The suspension may be provisionally declared in similar emergencies by an arrêté of government during an adjournment of the legislative body, provided that this body be summoned to meet at the shortest period, by an article of the said arrêté.

" 93. The French nation declareth, that it will in no case whatever permit the return of the Frenchmen who have deserted their country since the fourteenth of july, 1789, and are not comprehended in the exceptions that have been made to the laws enacted against the emigrants: it also forbids any new exception upon this point.

" The property of the emigrants is irrevocably confiscated to the profit of the republic.

" 94. The French nation declareth, that after a legal sale hath been made of the national domains, from whatever source they may come, the legal purchaser cannot be disposessed of them, except where a third party (if such case should occur) puts in a claim of indemnity from the public treasury.

" 95. The present constitution shall immediately be presented for the acceptance of the French people.

" Done at Paris, the twenty-second frimaire (december thirteenth,) eighth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

" [Here follow the signatures of the members of the legislative commissions, and of the consuls,]"^a

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^a Annual Register, 1799. Appendix to Chronicle, 142.

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FINIS.

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VOL. I.

PAGE.	LINE.	
185	note.	read <i>out</i> for <i>on</i> .
45	10	read <i>are</i> for <i>were</i> .
246	15	read <i>ground</i> for <i>grounds</i> .
322	26-7	reverse <i>dependent</i> and <i>independent</i> .
357	note.	read <i>m'empecher</i> ,
374	28	read <i>army</i> for <i>troops</i> .

VOL. II.

221	2	dele <i>they</i> .
231	27	dele <i>as</i> .
254	5	read <i>councils</i> for <i>counsels</i> .
280	32	read <i>was</i> for <i>were</i> .
292	8	read <i>ever</i> for <i>every</i> .
339	17	read <i>the</i> before <i>lateness</i> .
367	19	read <i>an</i> before <i>example</i> .

VOL. III.

18	15	read <i>ever</i> for <i>every</i> .
46	note	dele <i>he</i> before <i>the</i> .
145	2	A comma after <i>revolution</i> .
205	5	read <i>councils</i> for <i>counsels</i> .
403	12	c omitted in <i>courage</i> .
416	21	<i>revilings</i> for <i>rivilings</i> .
450	19	read <i>he</i> for <i>the</i> .
457	5	read <i>Caroline</i> for <i>Catharine</i> .

VOL. IV.

25	20	read <i>open</i> for <i>opn</i> .
70	5	read <i>was</i> for <i>were</i> .
120	2	read <i>into</i> for <i>from</i> .
384	32	read 4,200,000 for 4,000,000.
403	16	read 1757 for 1797.
404	11	read 120,000 clergy.
445	4	read <i>disaffection</i> <i>is</i> .

In a few of the first copies are the following:

154	8	read <i>expulsion</i> for <i>repulsion</i> .
—	10	read <i>republican</i> for <i>expublican</i> .

CORRECTIONS, VOL. IV.

Page 348, read want of *public spirit*. The want of morals, observed in the inhabitants of the great cities of Italy, is not, perhaps, observable of the people at large.

Madame de France, not the princess Sophia, is married to the duke d'Engoulesme.

